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TRUSTEEISM IN THE ATLANTIC STATES, 1785-1863 *

ON December 18, 1785, a commotion disturbed the Catholic congregation of New York City. Just after Mass, before the faithful had left, two of the members seized the collection, and after a struggle succeeded in retaining it.[1]

The eruption had occurred. But like all eruptions it had been gathering latent energy for some time. Father Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin trained in France, had been given missionary faculties as pastor in New York by Prefect Apostolic John Carroll on April 16, 1785.[2] Enthusiastically the Catholics had planned a worthy church edifice for themselves. They had incorporated on June 10, 1785, as "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of the City of New York,"[3] by virtue of a New York State law of April 6, 1784, which allowed the incorporation of parishes in the name of lay trustees elected by the men of the parish.[4] And then, having secured several lots on Barclay and Church Streets from the Corporation of Trinity Episcopal Church,[5] they had already

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[1] John Carroll to Trustees, Jan. 25, 1785. Cited by Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), p. 265. Hereafter referred to as *Carroll.*

[2] Leo Raymond Ryan, *Old St. Peter's* (New York, 1935), p. 42.

[3] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[4] Patrick J. Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States* (New York, 1935), pp. 52-54.

[5] Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 46.

celebrated the laying of the cornerstone with considerable ceremony on October 5, Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister, doing the honors.[6]

But by that date there was already dissension among the parishioners. Father Andrew Nugent, another Irish Capuchin, had arrived that fall, and had not been given faculties as assistant to Whelan. Nugent soon succeeded in winning the favor of the trustees and a large part of the congregation, a process which was naturally encouraged by the contrast between the men: between Whelan, "not so learned or so good a preacher . . . which mortifies the congregation,"[7] with "manners . . . somehow unpleasing to them;"[8] and Nugent, "said to be a great preacher."[9] The fissure rapidly widened between those who favored Nugent and those who favored Whelan, and accusations and recriminations increased in fervor as they increased in number. Then came the scene of December 18. Thereafter the trustees decided that Father Whelan must go. Unable to get him removed at once by Father Farmer, the vicar general, or by Father Carroll, they determined to take the matter into their own hands, regardless of the previous promises they had made to Carroll, which they now denied having made.[10] From Christmas on, they suspended Whelan's salary;[11] they asserted and propagated the principle that it was the congregation's right to choose its priests and discharge them at pleasure; and they even spoke of resorting to legal means to oust the pastor.[12]

Father Carroll saw clearly the point at issue. In his letter to the trustees of January 25, 1786, he summarized the case, and then charitably but firmly he answered their two chief contentions. As for their threat of seeking legal redress, he urged them to consider the effect which such a step would have on the reputa-

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[7] Carroll to Plowden, Dec. 15, 1785. Guilday, *Carroll*, p. 263.

[8] Carroll to Nugent, Jan. 17, 1786. Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[9] Farmer to Carroll, Nov. 8, 1785 (Guilday: "1784"). Cited by Guilday, *Carroll*, p. 262.

[10] Carroll to St. Peter's Trustees, Jan. 25, 1786. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

tion of their parish and of the Church in general, and he warned them that he would recognize no priest who encouraged such a step[13] Then, in reply to their opinion on the right of the parish to choose and dismiss pastors at will, he wrote the following memorable words:

> *If ever the principles then laid down should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our Church would be at an end*; and it would be formed into distinct and independent societies, nearly in the same manner as the congregational Presbyterians of our neighboring New England States. A zealous clergyman performing his duty courageously and without respect of persons would always be liable to be the victim of his earnest endeavors... and others more complying with the passions of some principal persons of the congregation would be substituted in his room....[14]

But Father Whelan did become a "victim of the most capricious despotism" which Carroll knew would be the fruit of that principle.[15] A vote of the parish about the end of January, 1786, showed that only four favored his continuance as pastor.[16] He was much upset by all this, and wrote to Father Farmer that he desired to leave. And he actually did leave on February 12, even before permission to do so had been granted.[17]

If Carroll soon granted Nugent faculties *usque ad revocationem*, it was because the lack of priests in the Lenten season allowed him no alternative.[18] Then there followed a period of relative peace, during which the dedication of the new church took place, November 4, 1786.[19]

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 265. Italics are Carroll's.

[15] Carroll to Nugent, Jan. 17, 1786. Cited by Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[17] John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll* (New York, 1888), p. 282. Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* will henceforth be referred to as Shea, with the volume and page numbers added.

[18] Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, Mar. 13, 1786. Guilday, *Carroll*, p. 269.

[19] Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

But so long as the attitude of the congregation towards pastors remained the same, Father Nugent could hope for no more quarter than his predecessor had received. Already in April, 1786, they had told him to be satisfied with his salary or leave.[20] By the end of the summer of 1787 open warfare had broken out between him and the trustees. The latter preferred charges against him to Carroll, and these were so serious that Carroll came in person to investigate them. Finding out about this time that Nugent had earlier been suspended by the Archbishop of Dublin,[21] he withdrew his faculties and named Father William O'Brien, O.P., to be pastor.

Carroll had the saner part of the congregation on his side. But Nugent still had some blind partisans. Backed by them, he tried to prevent Carroll from saying Mass in St. Peter's on the following Sunday. A tumult followed, during which some of his partisans were heard to claim that Carroll's authority, as Roman, was foreign, and so contrary to American law.[22] Carroll announced Nugent's suspension, and warning the people against attending any Mass which he should henceforth attempt to say, went himself with the better-thinking parishioners to celebrate Mass in the chapel of the Spanish minister. Nugent said Mass nonetheless, and spent the next few days spreading public attacks against Carroll's authority. Carroll replied in a moving address, and the trustees rallied to him. But even the new lock which they put on the church-door did not prevent the Nugentites from getting possession of the Church for the next Sunday, and obliging Carroll to say Mass again in the Spanish legation chapel.

The only thing for Carroll to do now was to appeal to the law. The State law for church incorporation provided a promising basis for such an appeal, since it declared:

> ... Nothing herein shall be construed ... in the least to alter or change the Religious Constitutions or Governments of either of the said Churches, Congregations, or Societies, so far as respects or in any wise concerns the Doctrine, Discipline or Worship thereof.[23]

[20] Guilday, *Carroll*, p. 268.

[21] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[23] Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Civil suits are not especially tasteful to the Church, but sometimes they are necessary. In this case it was the surest means, as Nugent, committing himself to such assertions as that he was subject to no power, not even the Pope, except Christ and the magistrates of New York City, had furnished ample proof that St. Peter's, in his control, would not be devoted to the faith it was founded to serve.[24] By this method Nugent was successfully ousted, and although he hired a house and continued to celebrate Mass sacrilegiously for a time,[25] he left for France in 1790, his fare being paid by a subscription taken up among the trustees.[26]

So runs the story of the first case of trustee trouble in the history of American Catholicism. It was not the last by any means, nor even the greatest. From that time on to the latter decades of the last century there was probably not a single year during which the disease of trusteemania was not epidemic, or better endemic, in some diocese in the country; although, of course, real trusteeists were never more than vociferous minorities. Its history is a sordid one of petty schisms, low intrigues, small-time politics, hypocritical fustian, and ignorant dogmatization, with pride, envy, and greed as the motivating passions. Great heresies can have a darkly romantic appeal, great schisms can evoke some admiration for their sheer bravura; but the trusteeism of stubborn laymen and wilful priests has no such compensating qualities: it was wholly cheap, wholly mean.

If this first case of trusteeism has been dwelt upon at length, it is because we find in it the pattern, or, better, the elements, characteristic of all other cases. They may be reshuffled, the emphasis may vary, but they are substantially the same wherever we find them. While no attempt will be made to identify all these elements, three may be mentioned as typical. First there was the widespread popularity which the existing system of congregational incorporation enjoyed among Catholics, worthy as well as unworthy, which led them to look upon the incorporated status as the ideal, and any

[24] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

attempt to alter that status an intrusion. In the second place, there was the tendency of the trustees and their partisans to extend the boundaries of their administrative authority to mixed temporal and spiritual matters, and to leave for the clergy only the purely spiritual. These extravagances ranged from such petty Josephinisms as directing the altar to be built in the wrong end of the church because they thought it looked better there,[27] to such grievous usurpations as total exclusion of the clergy from any share in the temporal administration of the parish, and the claim to the right of choosing or ejecting their pastors or even their bishops. It was in such cases as these, of course, that the faultiness of the laws of incorporation and like legal provisions for church organization became painfully evident. Such provisions, following the Protestant tradition of post-Reformation English law which refused to consider the Church as a corporation and would incorporate only specific groups of churchmen,[28] conferred upon congregation and trustees broad electoral and administrative powers which, if strictly interpreted, could completely upset Catholic hierarchical authority and the canon law of administration. Seldom did these laws and charters give any evidence that their legislators were aware that Catholic discipline was one whit different from that of the average Protestant church. In the third place there was the tendency of trustees and trustee parties to turn to the civil power in the name of an ambiguous liberty to seek protection of their system and the usurpations they had committed under the aegis of the civil law, whenever ecclesiastical authority attempted to make them return to conformity with the laws of church discipline. They appealed to Pilate to save themselves from Christ.

The schematization of the story of trusteeism presents difficulties. Guilday has rightly pointed out that the legislation of the Provincial Council of 1829 imposed a climax upon trusteeism,[29]

[27] Archbishop John Hughes, in a letter on the state of religion in the Diocese of New York in 1841. Lawrence Kehoe (Ed.), *Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.* (New York, 1864), I, 442. Hereafter cited as *Works*.

[28] Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[29] Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore (1791-1884)* (New York, 1932), p. 91. Cited hereafter as *H.C.B.*

and that fact establishes the elementary division between the rising action and the long denouement. But the parochial nature of the troubles and the constant division of dioceses make further subdivisions necessarily arbitrary. It may be helpful here to develop the metaphor of epidemic and endemic. The medical historian of a real plague, having to base his study on the case-histories of physicians, would probably begin new chapters when new doctors were called in. So we may establish a first period running from the outbreak in 1785 to the division of the Diocese of Baltimore in 1810, followed by a second period from 1810 to the establishment of the Dioceses of Charleston and Richmond in 1820. A third period from 1820 to 1829 will record the attempts of the bishops to find, independently, a remedy for the increasingly virulent disease. Then the physicians enter into consultation in the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, with increasing success. True, the epidemic breaks out violently once more in a final period, from 1852 to 1863. But from 1863 on the victory is a palpable one.

Space permits only the briefest mention of such published cases of trustee trouble as have come to the notice, or kindly been brought to the attention of the present writer. Diocesan and parish historians must fill in the gaps, of which there are probably not a few.

In the first period, that which ended in 1810, we must enumerate, along with the trouble at St. Peter's, New York, several other cases which arose to trouble the first American bishop. Holy Trinity Church in Philadelphia caused the most anguish. Carroll's apprehension of possible trustee-trouble in this first American "national" parish[30] was more than realized when the congregation, in a first phase of disturbance (1787-1790) elected the Capuchin, John Charles Helbron, as their pastor, and in a second phase (1796-1802) went into schism under the leadership of the Reverend John N. Goetz.[31] This latter phase paralleled and eventually merged with that rebellion led by the tempestuous young Father Caesar Reuter among the German Catholics of Baltimore.[32] In both cases the

[30] Carroll to Premir, Mar. 3, 1788. Guilday, *Carroll*, p. 293.

[31] Guilday, *Carroll*, pp. 647-649; 649-657.

[32] Shea, *op. cit.*, II, 423-425.

recalcitrants claimed the right of patronage and defended their independence in this respect as an American legal right. The Baltimore trouble was settled in 1805. Meanwhile Bishop Carroll had been having additional anxieties farther south. Since 1799 the brilliant but intemperate pastor of Charleston, South Carolina, Simon Felix Gallagher, had been causing him constant worry. By 1801 Gallagher realized that his own suspension was imminent, and being unwilling to seek a remedy in personal reform, he appealed to Rome, averring Carroll's attempt to remove him as an invasion of parochial rights. Carroll was able to prove to the Roman authorities that there were no canonical parishes in his diocese, and thus won his case in 1803. Gallagher returned and joined with the Charleston trustees against Father LeMercier whom Carroll had sent to replace him. This time the suspension dealt him was real. But fortunately Gallagher made peace with his bishop eventually, and in 1806 was reappointed pastor of Charleston by him.[33] However, by that time there had been similar trouble in Virginia. At Norfolk the parishioners were at loggerheads with their pastor, Father James Bushe, from 1796 or 1797 to 1799. The appointment of the diplomatic Father Michael Lacy in 1803 brought about peace; but anybody acquainted with the opinions of the Norfolk trustees knew the peace to be a precarious one.[34]

Bishop Carroll no doubt rejoiced in the division of his vast diocese in 1808. But that did not mean that trusteeism in the East was thereby doomed to a speedy death. True enough, Bishop Cheverus was able to adopt a firm course in securing New England church property in his own name, a course no doubt responsible for preserving his diocese from extensive trusteeism thereafter.[35] But elsewhere cases increased rather than diminished. In Philadelphia the able but impetuous Dominican, William Vincent Harold, became the focus of contention between the bishop and trustees until

[33] Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England, 1786-1842* (New York, 1927), I, 149. Hereafter cited as *England*.

[34] Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia (1815-1822)* (New York, 1924), pp. xxiv-xxv. Hereafter cited as *Church in Virginia*.

[35] *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, by William Byrne, *et al.* (Boston, 1899), I, 67. Hereafter cited as *Church in New England*.

his resignation was accepted in 1813. Bishop Egan's life was shortened by this trial, and when he died in July, 1814, the trustees were bold enough to try to browbeat Pope Pius VII into appointing Harold to succeed him.[36] But Rome rebuked them for their claim to the right of nomination, and while they were given an Irishman as a new bishop, it was not Harold. The racial strain in these Philadelphia troubles was also not absent from the New York disturbances of the same time. Father Pierre Malou, a Jesuit, who disliked his Irish Dominican Bishop, John Connolly, campaigned successfully for the election of an anti-Connolly body of trustees. Father William Taylor joined with him to lead the largely pro-French, anti-Connolly faction,[37] while the bishop's faction was led by the Irish Dominicans, Charles Ffrench and Thomas Carbry. Rome finally had to intervene and demand the dismissal from the diocese of the worthy but incompatible Malou, Taylor, and Ffrench.[38] But the Archdiocese of Baltimore had the lion's share of trouble at the time. Gallagher, after some years of peace with Carroll, became refractory again under Archbishop Neale. He and Robert Browne, an Augustinian come up from his parish in Georgia, were easy leaders of their largely Irish congregation against the French priest, Joseph de la Clorivière,[39] whom Neale had named assistant at the Charleston church. When they became openly recalcitrant, Neale felt obliged to suspend them. Browne appealed the case to Rome, and going there to represent himself, won his appeal by giving a distorted version of the facts. But when Rome later became apprised of the truth of the case, the decision was reversed, and the new Archbishop of Baltimore, Ambrose Maréchal, was authorized to proceed against both priests "with full and discretionary power."[40] But although he was firm

[36] Francis E. Tourscher, *The Hogan Schism* (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 191-195. Hereafter cited as *Hogan Schism*.

[37] Wm. Denman to Rev. J. Ryan, O.P., June 1826. Guilday, *England*, I, 435.

[38] Propaganda to Connolly, August 18, 1821. Text in: Peter Guilday, "Trusteeism," *Historical Records and Studies*, XVIII (1928), 71.

[39] Edward Lynch to Neale, Oct. 7, 1816. Guilday, *England*, I, 199.

[40] Pius VII, brief *Literas tuas* to Neale, July 9, 1817. Text in: Donald Shearer, *Pontificia Americana* (Washington, 1933), pp. 108-109.

with them, the problem of the trustees of Charleston was far from solved. Working now with the Norfolk schismatics, they demanded, in the name of their rights as a sovereign people, that Maréchal remove Clorivière;[41] and failing to receive satisfaction, they wrote a venomous letter to Pius VII, demanding a southern diocese, and nominating the Dominican, Thomas Carbry, then of New York, as its bishop.[42] Meanwhile the trustees of Norfolk, schooled in a fantastic Gallicanism by a Dr. Fernandez, had caused parallel trouble since 1815, when they began to demand the removal of their own French pastor, Father James Lucas,[43] by virtue of their own patronal rights. Their petition was refused too, so they appealed to Rome for a diocese naming the same Carbry as its incumbent.[44] When they did not get immediate satisfaction, the southern troublemakers seem to have tried to set up a Jansenist "Independent Catholick Church."[45] But the suspected scheme was thwarted. However, in the long run both Charleston and Norfolk trustees got what they wanted: sees established by Rome in both Charleston and Virginia, the former agreeable enough to Archbishop Maréchal, the latter most displeasing to him.[46]

The next decade started off promisingly enough. Charleston's bishop, the enterprising John England, soon had trusteeism in his diocese eradicated and its tendencies diverted into safer channels by his unique constitution. Bishop Patrick Kelly of Richmond also established peace at Norfolk, though by the fatal policy of siding with the trustees. Before long, his new-found friends had turned against him, and succeeded in making his short reign a by no means pleasant one. Farther north the plague was spreading too. When Bishop Dubois came to the Diocese of New York in 1826, he found the spirit of lay control widespread. In the see

[41] Memorial to Maréchal, Dec. 7, 1817. Guilday, *England*, I, 223-225.

[42] Petition of Vestrymen to Pius VII. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-247.

[43] Letter to Archbishop Neale, 1816. Summary in Guilday, *Church in Virginia*, pp. 28-32.

[44] Printed petition to Holy See, May 31, 1818. Guilday, *Church in Virginia*, pp. 45-53.

[45] Guilday, *England*, I, 278-282.

[46] Guilday, *Church in Virginia*, pp. 116-117.

city there were cases at St. Peter's,[47] the Cathedral,[48] Christ Church,[49] and in connection with the proposed French church,[50] but there were cases upstate too, in such distant parishes as St. John's, Utica.[51] Nor was New England immune at this time either, for Bishop Fenwick encountered the trusteeist mentality in his own cathedral in Boston.[51a] But most sorely tried among the bishops of this decade was Conwell of Philadelphia, who had not only minor cases to contend with, such as that at St. Peter's, Wilmington,[52] but also a notorious major case at St. Mary's in Philadelphia, the so-called Hogan Schism, which ran from 1820 to 1836. A short time after his installation in the see of Philadelphia, Henry Conwell had felt obliged to suspend Father William Hogan. Hogan, however, rallied to his defense a large number of trustees and parishioners, and his party then sought by ecclesiastical appeals, by civil law, by seditious and slandering pamphleteering, and by bloody riot, to win out against the bishop. But Conwell stood firm, and with Hogan finally ousted by the trustees themselves, he seemed now on the road to victory until he himself executed a *volte-face* in signing the puzzling pact of October 9, 1826, in which he acknowledged the trustees' *jus nominandi*.[53] Conwell fell into disfavor at Rome for this act, and in 1830 Francis Patrick Kenrick was named his coadjutor and administrator of the diocese, and given the thankless task of unraveling the tangle. But the Hogan imbroglio had done at least one good thing: it had evoked from Pius VII the apostolic brief of August 22, 1822, *Non sine magno*, which branded trusteeism's claim to patronal rights as "novum

[47] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[48] John Talbot Smith, *The Catholic Church in New York* (New York, 1905), I, 81.

[49] Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 200.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 496.

[51] Francis P. McFarland, "Early Catholic Affairs in Utica, N. Y.," *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, IV (1891-1893), 64-69.

[51a] *Church in New England*, I, 67.

[52] Joseph Wilcox, "Biography of Rev. Patrick Kenny (1763-1840)," *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, VII (1896), 36-37. Also, Martin I. J. Griffin, "Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny," *ibid.*, pp. 94-137, and IX (1898), 24-128, 223-256, 305-342, *passim*.

[53] Text in Tourscher, *Hogan Schism*, pp. 216-221.

. . . ac plane inauditum." [54] The importance of this brief was emphasized in Leo XII's brief to Bishop Rosati concerning New Orleans trusteeism, the *Quo longius* of August 16, 1828, which cited Pius VII's brief as a precedent.[55]

But in all this time the bishops had been practising ecclesiastical medicine pretty much on their own. What really was needed was a consultation on remedies and a concerted application of those remedies. The First Provincial Council of Baltimore, held in 1829, offered opportunity for that consultation. Its fifth decree urged that bishops thenceforth sponsor no church whose deed was not in their own hands; its sixth decree declared that there was no canonical *jus nominandi* in the province, and that donations of the faithful did not establish title to such. The seventh and eighth decrees exhorted the bishops to use canonical penalties to bring trusteeists to terms.[56] These regulations had to be supplemented or modified somewhat in the Third Provincial Council (1837),[57] the Fourth (1840),[58] the Fifth (1843),[59] and the Seventh (1849),[60] but they remained substantially the same throughout, and were extended in application to the whole American Church in the First Plenary Council, in 1852.[61]

Now it was up to the doctors to follow this definite plan. That they sincerely tried to do. Bishop England promulgated the conciliar legislation in his first synod in 1831;[62] but actually trusteeism was already conquered in his diocese, and the trouble he had with the schism in St. Augustine was really Bishop Portier's trouble,[63] which the latter solved in 1832.[64] Bishop Kenrick's first

[54] Text in Shearer, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-131.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

[56] *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori Habita etc.* (Baltimori, MDCCCLI), pp. 74-76.

[57] Decrees IV, VI. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

[58] Decree VIII. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

[59] Decree I. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[60] Decree IV. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[61] Guilday, *H. C. B.*, p. 178.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[63] Guilday, *England*, I, 587.

[64] *Ibid.*, I, 594.

Philadelphia synod of 1832 also promulgated the 1829 Baltimore decrees,[65] and the bishop, while not intending to disturb existing modes of ownership in old parishes, declared it his intention to hold the deeds of new properties in his own name.[66] He experienced some slight troubles at Silver Lake,[67] Chambersburg,[68] Erie,[69] and Sportsman's Hall,[70] more trouble at St. Paul's, Pittsburgh,[71] and another major case at Holy Trinity in Philadelphia, where the trustees sought to change the charter, and by their tactics won an interdict for their church until temporary peace was established in 1850.[72] A state law of 1844 made the Bishops of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh corporations sole, and that helped a good deal to maintain ecclesiastical order.[73] In Boston Bishop Fenwick did not publish the decrees of Baltimore until his synod of 1842.[74] But since he had always followed their policies, it was to be expected that he would take the firm stand he did when troubles arose in Portland, Maine (1830),[75] at Holy Trinity, Hartford (1831),[76] at St. Mary's, Taunton, Massachusetts (1842),[77] SS. Peter and Paul's in Providence (1843),[78] and elsewhere. Bishop Fitzpatrick, who succeeded him in 1846, had some difficulty in Fairfield, Vermont,[79] and

[65] Guilday, *H.C.B.*, p. 102.

[66] John J. Shea, *The Two Kenricks* (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 75.

[67] F. E. T. (Francis E. Tourscher), *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1830-1851* (Lancaster, 1916), p. 102. Hereafter cited as *Diary*.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. *Cf.* also, A. A. Lambing, *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Pittsburgh and Allegheny* (New York, 1880), pp. 367-370.

[71] Tourscher, *Diary*, p. 177.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 261-264, *passim*.

[73] Shea, *op. cit.*, IV, 46.

[74] Guilday, *H.C.B.*, p. 132.

[75] Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 462.

[76] *Church in New England*, II, 188.

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 444. But the insubordination there may have been ordinary rather than trusteeist.

[78] *Ibid.*, I, 369.

[79] *Ibid.*, II, 515-516.

Highgate, Vermont,[80] and prolonged and unsavory trouble at St. Mary's Church, Waltham, Massachusetts.[81]

But in the Diocese of New York the fight was harder and much more bitter. True enough, the disturbances at St. John's in Paterson, New Jersey,[82] St. Patrick's in Rochester,[83] and St. Joseph's in New York City,[84] had abated, but at Utica [85] and Ogdensburg [86] and elsewhere upstate the malady was rampant, and even Bishop Dubois' own cathedral in New York City was beset with trusteeist machinations.[87] Besides this, many other trustee-boards, while amenable to discipline, were proving incompetent in the management of their parishes. But the appointment of John Hughes as coadjutor bishop to Dubois in 1837 marked the beginning of trusteeism's doom in the Diocese of New York. He quickly won the Cathedral congregation to the side of authority, and thenceforth pressed on vigorously against other cases, always seeking to educate the people in the principles of church discipline while he was enforcing that discipline against the recalcitrant. In 1842 he held New York's first diocesan synod, and promulgated therein the decrees of the Baltimore Councils.[88] He then issued a pastoral letter asserting that while he did not intend to insist on possessing the title to all the then-existing church property, he *was* going to insist that the proper ecclesiastical control of that property be guaran-

[80] *Ibid.*, II, 519. These Vermont difficulties seem to have been trusteeist in character, but the accounts are all too sketchy.

[81] *Ibid.*, I, 67-68. There were also cases at St. Mary's, Boston, and at Salem, Massachusetts. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[82] Joseph M. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, N. J.), 1904, pp. 79-80.

[83] Frederick H. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, N. Y., 1925-1927), I, 16-65, *passim*.

[84] John Cardinal Farley, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), pp. 127-130.

[85] McFarland, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[86] John T. Smith, *A History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg*, New York (n. d.), pp. 79-81. Hereafter cited as: *Ogdensburg*.

[87] Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 505-506.

[88] John R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D.* (New York, 1886), pp. 193-197.

teed.[89] Most of his congregations subscribed to these regulations. Chief among those who refused was the congregation of the German Church of St. Louis, Buffalo.[90] Hughes withstood this group, and when they became violent, he allowed their pastor to leave the parish. The trustees attempted to appeal to Rome, but failing, professed repentance publicly in 1844.[91] There were still squabbles thereafter at New Brunswick, New Jersey,[92] Albany[93] and Oswego, New York,[94] and Hughes was equally stern here in disciplining the guilty. But much of the upstate New York trouble was taken out of his hands in 1847 when John McCloskey was created the first Bishop of Albany and John Timon first Bishop of Buffalo.

Of the three New York bishops, Timon was to suffer most from trusteeism thereafter, as it swung into its last violent phase throughout the East. In his diocese the movement became increasingly associated with the Know-Nothing movement in the early 1850's. Malcontents at St. Peter's in Rochester got a charter of incorporation for their church in July 18, 1851, and became the leaders of a riotous schism, in which they defended their action with Know-Nothing rhetoric and actually got a legal judgment in their favor in 1857.[95] In Buffalo trouble broke out at St. Louis' once more, whereupon Bishop Timon dismissed the trustees,[96] and when they attacked him and started schismatic worship, he interdicted their church.[97] Unwilling to submit, the trustees cast about for a means of legal redress.

[89] Text in Hughes, *Works*, I, 314-327.

[90] Hassard, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[91] Text in: Charles G. Deuther, *The Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. John Timon, D.D.* (Buffalo, 1870), pp. 111-112.

[92] Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[93] Farley, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166. For previous troubles at Albany, cf. John J. Dillon, *The Historic Story of St. Mary's, Albany, N. Y.* (New York, 1933), *passim*.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

[95] Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, I, 200-212.

[96] Timon to congregation, April 20, 1851. Deuther, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128.

[97] Text of decree, *ibid.*, p. 134.

About this time Archbishop Hughes favored the passage as a state law of the Taber Bill, which would have made it possible for New York State bishops to hold church property as corporations sole.[98] But Know-Nothing protests combined with protests from the Rochester[99] and Buffalo[100] trustees were responsible for the ultimate defeat of the measure in 1853.[101] When the Buffalo trustees were disappointed in their last ecclesiastical hope that same year, through the decision of Archbishop Bedini, who had come from Rome to Buffalo in answer to their appeal,[102] and by mid-1854 were themselves under the added ban of major excommunication,[103] they determined to obtain the passage of a state law making trustee incorporation obligatory. The Know-Nothings were only too willing to co-operate, and they had a strong bloc in that year's legislature. The Putnam Bill, which suited their malice, was introduced in an atmosphere of bitterness in early spring, 1855, and despite Catholic efforts, was passed on April 6. It provided that Catholic churches must incorporate in accordance with the trustee incorporation law, under penalty of escheatment to the state of church property thenceforth handed down in any other way.[104] This iniquitous law was not without parallels elsewhere in the country, which indicates that Know-Nothing and trusteeist conspiracy was widespread. In Pennsylvania the trustees of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, unreconciled by Archbishop Bedini, who had also visited them in 1853, sponsored a similar law in 1855.[105] Connecticut Know-Nothings enacted one the same year,[106] and Vermont Know-

[98] Circular letter of March 16, 1852. Hughes, *Works*, II, 719.

[99] *Ibid.*, II, 719-720.

[100] *Ibid.* Cf. also Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, I, 206.

[101] Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), pp. 297-298.

[102] Bedini to Trustees, October 25, 1853. Text in Deuther, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-195.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

[104] Text in Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, I, 208-210.

[105] Dignan, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-200.

[106] Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

Nothings gave their state one in 1856.[107] A like measure introduced in Massachusetts failed of passage.[108]

But these successes were ephemeral. The plague was now increasingly well in hand. The bishops still had cases to care for, especially in those parishes which were governed by old charters; but they were lighter and more isolated. Bishop O'Reilly easily quelled a slight rising in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1855.[109] Bishop de Goësbriand continued to have some trying times with the parish in Highgate, Vermont, but eventually won out.[110] Bishop Neumann finally saw peace re-established at Holy Trinity in Philadelphia.[111] Bishop Timon administered Viaticum to the former ringleader of the Buffalo trustees,[112] and reconciled most of the Rochester rebels in 1862.[113] Bishop McCloskey saw the practical conclusion of the disturbance at Ogdensburg,[114] although Carthage was the scene of considerable trouble in 1860-1862.[115]

It seems safe to say that by the early 1860's the old trusteeism in the Atlantic States was definitely conquered. Yet this statement need not be taken to imply that there have been no cases of a trusteeist nature in more recent times, or that there cannot be others even today. The year 1863 has already been mentioned as the terminus of the period covered by this paper. It is a convenient one and probably a true one, because in this year the New York state trusteeist law of 1855 and the earlier legal provisions which it enforced, were supplanted by a much more acceptable law which

[107] Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[108] *Church in New England*, I, 68.

[109] *Ibid.*, II, 315. At least this is called a case of trusteeism by Thomas S. Duggan, *The Catholic Church in Connecticut* (New York, 1930), p. 511.

[110] *Ibid.*, II, 519.

[111] Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[112] Deuther, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[113] Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, I, 220-221.

[114] Smith, *Ogdensburg*, p. 82.

[115] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120. But Smith's story is substantially revised by Thomas C. Middleton, "An Early Catholic Settlement," *Records*, American Catholic Historical Society X (1899), 17-77; 138-195.

allowed Catholic institutions to incorporate as corporations-aggregate.[116] This law was soon imitated by New Jersey [117] and Connecticut.[118] Most of the other states in the East became more benign, too, although some remained quite illiberal. In view of this diversity of legislation, the fathers of the plenary councils of 1866 [119] and 1884 [120] would still be unable to make precise regulations on property-tenure uniformly applicable throughout the nation, and would have to content themselves with stating general principles and urging bishops to take advantage of all legal means available in their localities to protect ecclesiastical property.

Thus reads the history of the plague of trusteeism as it ran its course through the Atlantic States between 1785-1863. The cases chosen as typical have not been selected because of their correspondence with an accepted definition of trusteeism, since nobody seems to have been willing so far to formulate such a definition. They have been selected instead because they involved an opposition to ecclesiastical authority which was motivated not by a spirit of common insubordination alone, but by a spirit of insubordination *sui generis* which arose in connection with an abusive interpretation of the old trustee-system. The word "trusteeism" has been employed herewith as signifying most conveniently not the trustee-system (which was morally indifferent in itself), but the abuses in practices and theory which sprang up in relation to it during the epoch treated.

A real philosophical definition of trusteeism, however, or even a good descriptive definition, would be a very helpful thing to have. Perhaps it would be unwise to essay such a task until our local historians have presented us with a greater abundance of case-histories. Certainly no general definition of American trusteeism can be based merely on an analysis of the cases which occurred on the East coast. Trusteeism caused considerable trouble in the Middle West and South too, and especially in the old French and

[116] Dignan, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 223-225.

Spanish districts there were foreign legal traditions involved which might render arriving at an over-all definition more complicated.

The following observations, however, may contribute somewhat to an appreciation of the true nature of trusteeism, and thus be of some assistance in the formulation of a definition.

1. Essentially trusteeism seems to have consisted in the claim of certain lay groups and their partisans to a wider control in temporal and mixed ecclesiastical matters than the laws of the Church allowed them. As Guilday has pointed out, practically speaking, in the early days at least, the original occasion of such encroachment was the desire of congregations to retain or dismiss a certain pastor whom the ecclesiastical superior wished to dismiss or retain. This occasion led to insubordination and acts of practical usurpation, which were often defended insincerely by the insubordinate as justified by various foreign practices, those of Gallicanism, or of the Spanish *real patronato,* or of the *marguilliers,* French or German. Their sincerity may be questioned because in none of the cases studied above is there any clear evidence that these foreign practices were the real models for trusteeist action. Instead they seem to have been used only as *ex post facto* arguments in favor of a viewpoint actually indigenous to this country.

2. Although the reason for maintaining this stand against Church discipline was not inspired by any foreign ideology or practice, it is idle to suppose that there was no common spirit or viewpoint underlying so widespread a phenomenon. The question to be determined is what this viewpoint was. It was probably a collection of ideas and persuasions. But it would seem that a form of American liberalism, an emotional republicanism, played no small part in turning mere lay insubordination into trusteeism. Earlier in this study three tendencies common to cases of trusteeism were noted: first, the tendency to regard the trustee-system as ideal; second, the tendency to exclude the clergy from control of all but the purely spiritual concerns; third, the tendency to regard as justifiable the appeal to civil power to protect their trusteeist *démarches.* We may assume that the historical sketch given above, however brief, bears this out. Now these tendencies are best explained as chiefly manifestations of liberal and republican prepossessions. That

these ideas did play a prominent part in trusteeist thought is also evidenced by the testimony of those who should have known it best, such as Archbishops Carroll, Neale, Maréchal, and Hughes, to say nothing of the trusteeist propagandists themselves, whose writings and utterances abound in perfervid democratic maxims. The parallel of Protestant congregational administration also had an influence on Catholic lay ideas of church property control. But may not this system have been admired and imitated largely because it also was "democratic" and "progressive"? Perhaps Archbishop Maréchal gave the best clue when he wrote in his report to Rome of 1818:

> ...The American people clings with the most ardent love to the civil liberty it enjoys. Again it is a primary principle of civil liberty among them, that absolutely all magistrates, whether high or low, at stated times of the year should be elected by popular vote. Likewise all sects of Protestants, who constitute the greater part of the people are ruled by the same principles and accordingly elect and dismiss, at their pleasure, their pastors. Now the Catholics living in their society are evidently exposed to the danger of admitting the same principles of ecclesiastical rule, and by the artifices of impious priests, who cater to their pride, are easily led to believe they have the right to elect and dismiss their pastors as they please.[121]

Could trusteeism, perhaps, have been dubbed "False Americanism" if later events had not conspired to fix that title upon another cluster of errors?

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[121] Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

TRUSTEEISM IN THE OLD NORTHWEST, 1800-1850 *

THIS paper concerns itself with certain primary aspects of trusteeism in the region included in the Old Northwest. Limited in time to the half century between 1800 and 1850, it is not intended to include such problems of trusteeism as that of lay management of parochial temporalities, which developed after 1850. The first five decades of the nineteenth century constitute the formative period of the Catholic Church in the five states admitted to the Union as one or the other section advanced beyond its territorial status. These years saw both the completion of the process leading to statehood, and the establishment of organized Catholicity under integrated dioceses. From the admission of Ohio in 1803, the political process continued in the admission of Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1837, and Wisconsin in 1848. Paralleling this political growth was the development of the diocesan organization of the Church. The entire Old Northwest, originally under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Baltimore, passed in 1808 to the suffragan see of Bardstown, Kentucky.[1] It received separate ecclesiastical status in 1821, with the erection of the Diocese of Cincinnati, the bull of erection providing that, for the present, the Northwest should be under the jurisdiction of Cincinnati, in matters of spiritual concern (*in spiritualibus*).[2] Within the period considered in this paper, the Old Northwest was subdivided ecclesiastically by the erection of the Dioceses of Detroit in 1833,[3] of

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[1] Bull of Pius VII, April 8, 1808, Donald C. Shearer, O.M.Cap., *Pontificia Americana* (Washington, D. C., 1933), pp. 100-102.

[2] Bull of Pius VII, May 21, 1821, Shearer, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112.

[3] Bull of Gregory XVI, March 8, 1833, *ibid.*, pp. 177-188.

Vincennes in 1834,[4] of Milwaukee in 1843,[5] of Chicago in 1843,[6] and of Cleveland in 1847.[7]

There are two practical reasons for the restriction of this paper by reason of territory to the Old Northwest, and by reason of time to the first half of the nineteenth century. From the standpoint of ecclesiastical as well as of secular history, the Old Northwest had important elements of cultural unity, which resulted from similar social, religious, and political influences. During the first half of the nineteenth century, these so affected the foundation of the organized Catholic Church in the Middle West as to set it somewhat apart from the Church as organized in the eastern section of the United States, and to furnish lasting notes, characteristic of midwestern Catholicism. Such a note manifested itself in the development of the trustee system, the problems of trusteeism, and the solution of these problems.

Throughout the Old Northwest, a similar set of influences, favorable to the establishment of the trustee system, may be observed. These are five in number: 1) the general European religious background of the German immigrants who settled in the Old Northwest, particularly in Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, between 1830 and 1850, was of such a nature as to incline them to the acceptance of a system, reproducing some of the elements of lay management with which they were familiar in the land of their origin; 2) in localities where French origins added distinct notes, the influence of the *fabrique* was such as to dispose these areas to the acceptance of some sort of a system of lay trustees;[8] 3) the early advance of the trustee system in the eastern section of the United States was a factor leading Catholics, who migrated to the Old Northwest from the East, to establish the familiar institution in their new homes; 4) the conditions in which many of the early parishes or missions were established, i. e., the absence of priests or of recog-

[4] Bull of Gregory XVI, May 6, 1834, *ibid.*, pp. 183-185.

[5] Bull of Gregory XVI, November 28, 1843, *ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

[6] Bull of Gregory XVI, November 28, 1843, *ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

[7] Bull of Pius IX, April 23, 1847, *ibid.*, p. 242.

[8] Patrick J. Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States (1784-1932)*, (Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 70-71.

nized manner of procedure, demanded lay initiative in the purchase of land and in the erection of missions and churches, title to which was held by a self-constituted or elected group of laymen;[9] 5) the legal position of such boards of trustees under the territorial or state law was such as to render feasible the incorporation by such trustees of religious societies.[10]

These factors, either singly or in combination, produced attempts in the dioceses which arose in the Old Northwest to establish the trustee system. Even where the attempts were successful, despite the general tenor of church legislation to the contrary, the trustee system was not an unmitigated evil. Much constructive work was done by zealous laymen, who labored with and under the direction of missionary priests and bishops to establish the Church on a sound financial and material basis. Nevertheless, in spite of many instances in which the practice worked for good, the intrinsic danger of lay-management was such that its harmful results could not be avoided. The following cases do not constitute a complete list of the evils of the trustee system as they were manifested between 1800 and 1850. The preparation of such a record would entail exhaustive research into the history of every parish erected. Such research is more properly the field of the diocesan historians, and a synthesis of their respective works would then afford a complete presentation of the case both for and against the system. These instances of the trustee system in operation are chosen because they show specific trends both of the system itself, and the principles on which the solution of its most important problems rested.

The earliest case of opposition to ecclesiastical authority on the part of trustees was in 1822, when Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati ordered a change in the location of the only church in the city from its original site at Liberty and Vine to Sycamore Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. In this he was resisted by the trustees of Christ Church, incorporated under Ohio law, who held title to the

[9] John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (New York-Cincinnati, 1921), pp. 31-38.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 37; cf. also *The Souvenir of the 70th Anniversary of St. Michael Church* (Cincinnati, 1917), for examples of lay initiative in the establishment of parishes and in the incorporation of trustees.

property at Liberty and Vine. Recognizing that the crux of the matter lay in the legal title to the church property, Fenwick ordered the trustees to transfer the property to himself. The trustees obeyed the episcopal command, and the matter ended.[11]

The crisis in trusteeism in the Diocese of Cincinnati developed in St. Mary Parish in the episcopal city in 1844. This parish, established in 1840, as the second German parish of the city, experienced trustee troubles from its inception. By the end of 1843, the faction favoring lay control of parochial fiscal concerns had attained considerable strength, formulating a thorough-going policy embracing the following objectives: the holding of title to, and control of, all church property together with all parochial monies, and the right of appointment and removal of pastors. More than 1600 signatures had been secured to a circulating petition. The leaders of the movement planned to file a claim for incorporation under the laws of Ohio in the title of "The German Catholic Congregation of Cincinnati." The movement proved abortive when Father Martin Henni, the pastor of Holy Trinity Parish, and organizer of St. Mary Parish, called a general meeting of the Catholics of the city for January 26 at St. Mary's Church. Over 2000 men responded to this call. A counter organization was then formed and resolutions denouncing the trustee movement were framed. The weight of public disapproval was so great, and the support of this new organization so strong, that the impending plans of the trustee group were allowed to die.[12]

Early trustee and factional troubles at St. Ann Church in Detroit lasted for a decade prior to the arrival of Bishop Rese in 1833.[13] These were followed by the more serious and more highly organized

[11] Lamott, *Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, p. 52. It is interesting to note that Fenwick's settlement of this difficulty anticipates the suggestions made by the letter of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda to Archbishop Maréchal, July 27, 1822, and those of the bull of Pius VIII, *Non Sine Magno*, August 24, 1822. Cf. Raphael de Martinis', *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1892), iv.

[12] *The One Hundredth Anniversary of St. Mary Church* (Cincinnati, 1943).

[13] John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1892), IV, 207.

trustee abuse in connection with the establishment of St. Mary Church. In 1843, when the construction of the church was completed, a faction in the parish was unwilling that the title to the property should be transferred to the bishop, demanding that it be retained in the names of the trustees. To Father Martin Kundig fell the duty of solving this problem. Tactfully he kept the dispute under control until he could shape the opinion of the parishioners to the point where they would favor the transfer of title. A parish meeting was then called, attended by the parishioners and others, and the affair was discussed at length. A vote was taken, and it was unanimously decided to transfer title to the bishop.[14] Of Kundig's ability to cope with this situation, here and elsewhere, we read:

> This management of lay trusteeism was not the sole event of its kind in the career of Kundig, but the attendant success and technique were typical. Keen appreciation of human nature and grasp of the American way formed the background for the employment of his method. Some of its features are selection of suitable spokesmen, driving home the principles for their benefit in a private powwow, broadcasting these by word of mouth to both parishioners and outsiders, and finally, a packed hall. Not the least moral pressure could have been exerted by the presence of friendly outsiders in the hall.[15]

In the Diocese of Milwaukee, practically the same conditions were present in the case of St. Sebastian Church, Burlington, Wisconsin. The refusal of some of the trustees to transfer title to the church property to Bishop Henni delayed the blessing of the church, following its completion in 1845. Kundig, who by this time had left Detroit for the mission field of Wisconsin, repeated his tactics which had worked so successfully in Detroit, and by means of a parish meeting security the support of the majority for the required transfer.[16] Kundig's ability to meet the problems of trusteeism was later demonstrated at New Bristol, Wisconsin. In 1847 during the construction of St. Joseph Church, difficulties developed with the trustees, who held the title to the church prop-

[14] Peter Leo Johnson, *Stuffed Saddlebags* (Milwaukee, 1942), pp. 77-79.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[16] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

erty. Factional troubles also arose in the congregation, which were not settled until the transfer of title was made to the bishop in 1853. In a deed of September, 1849, the trustees opened the cemetery to the burial of non-Catholics, and in the dispute over the transfer of title, a schism was effected, and a suspended priest imported to carry on the religious functions of the parish. After unsuccessful attempts to settle the trouble through a mediator, Bishop Henni himself sought without avail to heal the schism. As a last resort, he then sent Father Kundig to St. Joseph Church. Publicity, threats of a legal action to remove the illicit pastor, and the efforts to build up a party of right-minded parishioners combined to secure the reconciliation of the contending elements.[17]

In the Diocese of Vincennes, the Church was in a missionary condition throughout the greater part of the period under discussion. From available records, it would seem that trusteeism was not a serious problem prior to 1850. Trustees were used to organize parishes, or to carry on the necessary building activities, or to control temporalities in newly-founded parishes, but functioned without disadvantage to the diocese.[18] In this diocese, as in Cincinnati, Detroit, and Milwaukee, the precedent of transfer of title to church property to the bishop was set. One such instance occurred in St. James Church, Gibson County, in 1847, when Bishop Hailandière refused to permit the use of the church for sacred functions until this condition was satisfied.[19] One of the early missionary priests of the diocese, Joseph Ferneding, had begun this practice by 1837 for church properties which had been held by Bishop Purcell before the establishment of the Diocese of Vincennes.[20]

Such general inferences seem valid for the Diocese of Chicago, since it was in a similar missionary state even to the mid-point of the century. That such a practice in regard to the holding of

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 221-223. Cf. I. A. Klein, *Geschichte der St. Joseph's Gemeinde von East Bristol, Wis., 1847-1907* (Madison, 1910).

[18] H. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1883), pp. 278; 421-422.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

church property would be inaugurated within the jurisdiction of this diocese is evident from the fact, that in 1845, Bishop Quarter obtained a charter for the diocese from the state legislature under the title of "The Catholic Bishop of Chicago," authorizing him to hold property in trust for the good of the diocese.[21]

These instances are typical of the history of trusteeism before 1850. Certain conclusions may be drawn from them: 1) Trusteeism was not the serious problem to the Church in the Old Northwest that it was in other sections of the United States; 2) the cases in which friction developed between the ecclesiastical authorities and trustees were settled without that resort to litigation characteristic of other sections of the United States;[22] 3) such open

[21] Dignan, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[22] An exception to this statement is had in a case which originated in St. Mary's Church, Detroit, Michigan, and which was appealed from the lower state court to the Michigan Supreme Court. It is reported in Douglas, *Michigan Reports, Smith vs. Bonhoff*, II, 115 ff. Reverend Mr. Haslinger, a Roman Catholic priest and pastor of St. Mary Church in the City of Detroit, rented pew # 54 to the defendant (Bonhoff). The plaintiff endeavored to take possession of the pew in question but was refused by the defendant. The case was then taken to the lower courts where the question arose as to whether the pastor, or the trustees elected under Chapter 52 of the revised statutes of the State of Michigan, had the right to rent pews, since the trustees had granted pew # 54 to the plaintiff. The lower court held that the trustees had this right. However, the Supreme Court reversed this opinion, advancing the following reasons:

1) That under the deed of trust, and the constitution, laws and usages for the government of the Roman Catholic Church, by which the administration of the temporalities of the Church is vested in the parish priest, the right to rent the slips belonged to the priest and not to the trustees.
2) That the provisions of this statute are not mandatory but permissive, and that no church can become incorporated under it, provided the power confirmed by it upon the corporators is, by the constitution, laws and usages of the church, lodged in another body; but the person or persons, and his or their successors, in whom such power is vested by the constitution, laws, and usages of the church, may become a body corporate by complying with the 23rd section of the Chapter.

In his opinion, the presiding judge wrote the following interpretation:

> "It was insisted in the court below, that any church might organize under provision of the statute, and that lay Trustees elected persuant thereto, might assume the control of the temporalities of the church,

schisms as were effected between 1800 and 1850 were of short duration, and the temporary disruption of unity was ordinarily healed by the tactful manner in which the particular case was handled by the priest or bishop within whose jurisdiction the incident occurred.

These conclusions may be explained by certain factors which influenced the development of the Church in the Old Northwest. Early in the history of organized Catholicity under a diocesan establishment, the important precedent was established, whereby title to ecclesiastical property was legally held by the bishop of the diocese. As was noted above, this was first done in 1822, in solving the difficulty with the trustees of Christ Church in Cincinnati. In 1825, Bishop Fenwick was confronted with a difficult situation in regard to the property being acquired for religious purposes within his diocese. With but few exceptions, the priests then working within the diocese were members of the Dominican Order. Property acquired by them was held in the name of the Order. Fenwick, himself a member of the Dominican Order, held diocesan property. Thus the situation became confused and future developments were uncertain. The case was referred to Rome, and acting upon the decision of Propaganda, Fenwick, on July 3, 1830, willed to the Bishop of Cincinnati, who should in future succeed him, the property belonging to the Diocese of Cincinnati.[23]

> notwithstanding the administration of such temporalities is, by the form of government of the Roman Catholic Church, committed to the clergy. I cannot think this view of the statute is sound. It cannot be that in this country, when religious liberty is enjoyed and protected by constitutional enactments, the Legislators of this State intended to vest in lay Trustees, a power which would close the doors of every Catholic Church in the State."

[23] Lamott, *Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, pp. 175-181. A letter of Fenwick to Maréchal, May 26, 1826, refers to this situation. During Fenwick's trip to Europe, property in Brown County, Ohio, at Kenton, Ohio, and at Zanesville, Ohio, had been acquired by his vicar, Father Hill, O.P., in the name of St. Joseph Province of the Dominican Order. Fenwick then wrote a statement of the case to the Propaganda, which, on December 9, 1826, instructed Archbishop Maréchal to investigate and to report to Rome on Fenwick's complaint. In January, 1827, Fenwick decided to send Father Frederic Rese to Rome with plenipotentiary powers to act for him in the matter, petitioning that the Diocese of Cincinnati be made a Dominican Province to be governed

As new churches were erected, these precedents were followed, and titles to property were vested in the bishop.

This precedent had an important influence in other dioceses of the Old Northwest. Frederic Rese, who began his episcopal labors in Detroit in 1833, had from 1824 to 1829 exercised his priestly ministry in Cincinnati, where he had become familiar with Bishop Fenwick's manner of holding church property. He had been the bishop's agent at Rome in negotiating the matter of partition of the respective holdings of Dominican and diocesan properties.[24] From the beginning of his episcopacy in Detroit, he followed the same procedure.[25]

Martin Henni, the first Bishop of Milwaukee, was for fourteen years of his priestly life (1829-1843) active in the city of Cincinnati. He was the organizer and first pastor of the earliest German parish in the city, and president of the committee which arranged the transfer to Bishop Purcell of the property on which the second German church was erected.[26] In the trustee troubles which arose in St. Mary Church, Cincinnati, immediately before his appointment as Bishop of Milwaukee, it was his influence which was responsible for the defeat of the trustee faction. In his diocese, a similar method of holding church property was adopted.[27]

The work of Father Martin Kundig in the establishment and organization of parishes in the Diocese of Cincinnati (1829-1833), Detroit (1833-1842), and Milwaukee (1842-1879), should not be underestimated. In more than twenty parishes owing their origin to him, one of the basic points on which he insisted was the transfer of title to parochial property to the bishop of the diocese.[28] The

by Dominicans only. (Fenwick to Propaganda, January 12, 1827). Rese remained in Rome from late in May, or early in June, 1827, to April 20, 1828, before a separation of property was ordered as a settlement. Fenwick's will, drawn on July 3, 1830, specified the property belonging to the Diocese of Cincinnati, which was to pass to his successor in the episcopal office.

[24] Lamott, *Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, p. 177.

[25] Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-85.

[26] Lamott, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

[27] Shea, *op. cit.*, IV, 254.

[28] Cf. Johnson, *op. cit.*, for a history of the work of Martin Kundig.

influence of the Cincinnati precedent was similarly extended to the Diocese of Vincennes, since the early missionary activity was that of priests, who ranged out of Cincinnati to the new settlements, being established in the state to the west of them.

The periodization here used is not meant to suggest that trusteeism was not an harassing problem after 1850. Many later instances of lay interference were to occur, but these were ordinarily to be concerned with the management and control of finances rather than with the vesting of title to church property in a board of lay trustees. The initial gain during the period 1800-1850 in the insistence that title to church property be held by some ecclesiastical person, represents the significant constructive principle established in favor of ecclesiastical authority. It prevented lay-management from securing a sound legal basis for its claims, and thus prepared the way for the final settlement of the entire problem of trusteeism in the subsequent years.

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Was the Papal Consulate in the United States Officially Ended?

The publication in 1933, by the American Catholic Historical Association, of the record of the formal diplomatic relations between the United States and the Papal States,[1] made available materials for the study of a chapter in American foreign relations of which few had more than a vague knowledge. Considerable interest has since been shown in the subject.[2] A volume presenting the documentary record of the consular relations between the two governments, also to be published by the Association, is now in press.

One phase of this latter relationship has been little known and its account nowhere published, viz., that of the papal consuls resident in the United States. Since 1797 the United States had been represented by consuls and consular agents in Rome, Ancona, Ravenna, Cività Vecchia, Ceprano,

[1] Leo Francis Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches* (Washington, 1933).

[2] The following titles bear on the subject: Stock, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, n. s. III, 103-122; *idem*, "The Empress of Mexico Visits Rome," *America*, June 18, 1927; *idem*, "Italy's Agreement with the Vatican," *Current History*, XXX, 12-18; *idem*, "The United States and the Vatican: Past Diplomatic Relations," Carnegie Institution of Washington, *News Service Bulletin*, 1929, no. 10, pp. 57-61; *idem*, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," presidential address before the American Catholic Historical Association, *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 1-8; H. Nelson Gay, "Le relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti," *Nuova Antologia*, CCXX, 657-661; Joseph F. Thorning, "American Notes in Vatican Diplomacy," United States Catholic Historical Society's *Historical Records and Studies*, XX, 7-27; Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag, *American Public Opinion Concerning the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States* (Washington, 1933); Howard B. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861* (New York, 1932); *idem*, "Unpublished American Documents on the Roman Republic of 1849," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 459-490; *idem*, "American Travellers in Rome, 1848-1850," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX, 506-509; Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., "American Diplomats and the Risorgimento," *Historical Bulletin*, XXI, 51-52, 63-64. Scattered and fragmentary references to the subject have appeared in the *Researches* of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia (e. g., XXII, 248, 296, XXV, 396), and in the *Hist. Records and Studies* of the U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc. of New York (II, 381, III, 149, XI, 85, XII, 115, XIII, 61, XXVI, 107).

Commachio, Fiumacino, Ostia, and Poàto d'Anzio;[3] the first consular representative of the Papal States in America was not appointed until 1826 when Count Ferdinand Lucchesi was commissioned consul-general, with residence in Washington. Three others succeeded him to this post: John B. Sartori, residing at Trenton (1829-1841), who was our first consul to Rome and who, strangely, during several years after he came to the United States held both positions; Daniel J. Desmond, Philadelphia (1841-1850); and Louis B. Binsse, at New York, from 1850.

These consuls-general appointed the following vice-consuls: for Philadelphia, Charles Picot, Edward Frith, George Allen;[4] for New York, Martin *Rev.*, XV, 233-251; *idem*, "An American Consul Joins the Papal Zouaves." Mantin and Louis B. Binsse; for New Orleans, Henry Perrett, Thomas Barrett, Charles J. Daron, and Alexis Robert; for Baltimore, Mariano Cubi y Soler, Thomas J. Bijouard, T. Parkin Scott, and Basil T. Elder; for Charleston, Charles Le Carron, Thomas F. Roger, Eugene Hachet consular agent, Thomas L. Roger, and Edward Mottet; for Norfolk, William D'Azet Senac; for Savannah, Samuel Wright; for Boston, Nicholas Regio; and for Cincinnati, James F. Meline. In 1862, Cardinal Antonelli, papal secretary of state, informed Alexander Randall, United States minister at Rome, that Eugene Kelly had been appointed consul at San Francisco, but the records of the Department of State in the National Archives do not show that the commission was sent or an exequatur issued.[5]

April 20, 1867, Secretary Seward wrote to Rufus King, the last minister to Rome, that the effect of the act of Congress which declared that after June 30 " no more money shall be paid for the Legation at Rome," was to leave that mission " still existing, but without compensation."[6] The available evidence shows that the papal consulate in the United States was likewise *not officially terminated*.

The curious and unusual fact of recognition given by the American Department of State to a representative of a foreign power which was no longer in existence as a functioning civil government, as was shown in the case of Binsse after 1870, was presented by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., in his recent contribution to this REVIEW.[7] The correspondence there printed

[3] Stock, "American Consuls to the Papal States, 1797-1870", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 233-251; *ibid.*, "An American Consul Joins the Papal Zouaves", *Catholic World*, CXXXII, 146-150; Joseph T. Durkin, "The Case of the Pontifical Consul at New York", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 499-503.

[4] Stock, "The Papal Consuls of Philadelphia," *Records* of Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. (June, 1944).

[5] Stock, *United States Ministers*, p. 253.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 426.

[7] "The Case of the Pontifical Consul at New York," XXVIII, 499-503. Father Durkin took his copies from Instructions from the Department of State: George P. March, i. e., Records Returned from Italy. Blanc's original

shows the American position to have been that "the Sovereign who bestowed his [Binsse's] Commission has not relinquished the exercise of that right," that "the Act [of the Italian Parliament, May 13, 1871] is silent as to the Consuls who may previously have been appointed by the Pope to reside abroad," and "implicitly, at least, acknowledges the right of the Pope to accredit representatives abroad."

How did this protest of the Italian minister against the American position end? This paper is a footnote to Father Durkin's study and an attempt to continue his story.

For a better understanding of the American attitude in the controversy it will be helpful to refer to Article 11 of the law of May 13, 1871, which Secretary Fish cited in his correspondence with Minister Blanc. The printed copy sent to the Department of State reads:

> Les Représentants des Gouvernements étrangers près Sa Sainteté jouissent dans le Royaume de toutes les prérogatives et immunités qui appartiennent aux agents diplomatiques, en vertu du droit international, Seront étendues aux offenses dirigées contre eux les sanctions pénales pour les offenses envers les Représentants des Puissances étrangères près le Gouvernement italien.
>
> Les prérogatives et les immunités d'usage d'après le droit international seront assurées, dans le territoire du Royaume, aux Représentants de Sa Sainteté près les Gouvernements étrangers, lorsqu'ils se rendent au lieu de leur mission, et en reviennent.[8]

As Father Durkin disclosed (p. 499), the issue was joined, January 23, 1876, when the Italian minister asked if the exequatur of Binsse, papal consul-general, had been withdrawn. The concrete instance back of the inquiry was the approval given under the pontifical consular seal of Italian products offered for exhibition at the Philadelphia centennial of that year.[9] Father Durkin closes his note with the letter of Fish to Blanc, July 18, 1876 (p. 502), in which the former's reasons for not demanding Binsse's exequatur were based on the closing paragraph of the above Article 11. But the Italian ambassador, on July 28, persisted in his position:

letters are in Notes from Italy, National Archives, Department of State; Fish's replies are in Notes to Italy. A case not quite parallel was that of the Hawaiian Consuls who continued to exercise their functions after the annexation of Hawaii, but before legislation providing a form of government for the islands. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I, 513.

[8] National Archives, Notes from Italy, June 19, 1868-June 28, 1872. This second paragraph has a line drawn against it in the margin; upon its contents Fish based his decision to recognize Binsse's commission. Cf. Durkin, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

[9] Blanc to Fish, July 5, 1876; Notes from Italy, *loc. cit.*

...The right recognised by the said Law of the Pontifical Guarantees to the Sovereign Pontiff to send and to receive diplomatic agents, enjoying in the territory of the Kingdom all the prerogatives and immunities sanctioned by International Law, is naturally regulated and determined by the general rules of international law itself, and by the nature of the relations which may exist between foreign States and the supreme spiritual power which the Pontifical Sovereignty has preserved in full force.

Besides, from the first of these points of view, that is to say, the general rules of International Law, I have no doubt but that Your Excellency recognizes that Consuls cannot be considered as forming a portion of diplomacy. The declaration of Vienna of March 19, 1815, and the Protocol of Aix la Chapelle of the 21st November 1818, defined the different classes of diplomatic agents, and Consuls were not included therein.

It would be easy to cite, on this subject, an eminent American authority, Wheaton, who teaches that Consuls, not being accredited to the Sovereign or Chief of the State, nor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs have not a public character.

From that point of view of the nature of the relations which may exist between the Holy See and the United States, I shall confine myself to remarking that the attributes of Consuls, whether they be subject to the supervision of the treaties of commerce and of navigation, or whether they concern the protection of private persons and interests and voluntary jurisdiction to act in favor of their native citizens, necessarily presupposes the exercise of actual territorial sovereignty by the power issuing the letters patent on which the exequatur is accorded; and that these powers cannot be exercised in respect to any person or thing whatever, nor the exequatur which virtually authorises their exercise be validly possessed, by the agent of a power which has ceased to exercise territorial Sovereignty without a consequent infringement of the rights of sovereignty upon whom it actually depends to determine the nationality of that person or thing.

If these principles are strictly correct, I believe they are generally recognized as such, it follows that the simple affirmation of a practical case to which they may apply, such as the one which has occurred at Philadelphia à propos of the ex-Pontifical Consul at New York, is sufficient, that the actual application of these same principles may and should be correctly and properly asked and accorded; so much the more that the Government of the United States does not thus run the risk of establishing a new precedent—the existing precedents being precisely in the sense which I have just had the honor to point out.

The deference which is so legitimately due to Your Excellency has induced me—in a conversation which I have taken the liberty to recall, in the course of this correspondence to submit to you verbally the questions of which it treats and to seek to arrange with you the best means to provide for the recall of this exequatur. Under the inspiration of the same sentiment that I have chosen the most simple and customary of these means—that of a regular request addressed to your Excellency to this end, my impression having been that Your Excellency declined all initiative in this regard, that a discussion of principles on this matter did

not seem indispensable and that according to Your Excellency it was for my Government to address to you officially the declarations to which the case admits of on the subject of the situation of the ex-Pontifical Consul.

Having been led to communicate these observations to Your Excellency, with other developments which I had not at first thought necessary, it only remains for me, Mr. Secretary of State, to leave entirely to your distinguished discretion the choice of measures which it will suit you to take in order that the consular qualities and attributes may no longer from this time forward, since it is my duty to persist in the request, be recognized by the Government of the United States or the local authorities of the States, in the ex-consul of the ancient Pontifical State....[10]

No reply to this communication was found. In March, 1877, Fish yielded his cabinet post as Secretary of State to William M. Evarts. The Italian government, under the change of administration, sought a reversal of Secretary Fish's decision. Evarts parried the question by investigating the actions of foreign governments on the question as it existed with them in 1870. April 3, 1877, he addressed the following circular letter to the American ministers and ambassadors abroad:

It appears that the exequaturs of the consuls in this country, of what were the Pontifical States, have never been formally withdrawn. Indeed, until recently, no application for that purpose was made by the Government of Italy. During the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia however, Mr. Binse[*sic*] the consul general of the Vatican at New York, performed or sought to perform, official acts at which the Italian Government took umbrage, and their minister here consequently asked that his exequatur might be cancelled. My predecessor decided against the application, partly perhaps, because it may have been regarded as untimely. The reasons assigned for refusing a compliance with it however, founded as they were, on the relations between Italy and the Vatican as established by law, might be regarded as sufficient. It is understood that the Italian Government is not satisfied with our hesitation, delay or refusal to comply with its request. Consequently, it is deemed advisable to reconsider the question, and with that view, to ascertain whether consuls appointed by the Government of the Vatican are now recognized in [*blank*] and if such were formerly recognized, whether and when, if at all, their exequaturs have been withdrawn.

Your report upon these questions would be acceptable.[11]

In reply to this inquiry, Edward Pierrepont, minister to England, wrote on April 23 that there had been no papal consul in London since the King of Italy assumed sovereignty of Rome, hence the question of revoking exequaturs had never arisen.[12] From the Netherlands it was reported that

[10] Blanc to Fish, July 28, 1876; *ibid.*

[11] National Archives, Department of State, Circulars, II, 251.

[12] Department of State, Despatches, Great Britain, Vol. 132.

no steps had been taken there to suppress the two consulates existing at Rotterdam and Amsterdam; the former was terminated in 1873, but at Amsterdam the consul, appointed in 1852, continued to function until 1876, when remonstrance was made by the Italian minister, and the exequatur was then withdrawn. R. R. Hitt wrote from Paris, April 24, that when the kingdom of Italy was recognized by France the exequaturs of papal consuls were not formally withdrawn, as it was thought this action might be considered offensive and humiliating; but the names had been erased from the diplomatic list. The consul at Marseilles had retained his arms over his door, but was officially requested to remove them.[13] Thomas O. Osborn replied, June 13, that no papal consuls were recognized by the Argentine Republic after the fall of Rome; the consul-general appointed in 1865 then resigned.[14]

Here, so far as the official records show, the matter stands—undetermined, with no reversal of Secretary Fish's decision. It was not settled at the time by Binsse's death, for he lived until March 28, 1895.[15] Perhaps the Italian government, in the absence of any further incident that would have revived the controversy, and with no likelihood that further commissions would be issued by the Vatican, felt it would be unwise and futile to attempt to disturb the existing status quo. It is significant that in the Convention concerning the Rights and Privileges of Consuls, concluded May 8, 1878, between Secretary Evarts for the United States and Baron Alberto Blanco for Italy, there is no reference to the subject of papal consuls.[16]

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[13] *Ibid.*, Despatches, France, Vol. 82.

[14] *Ibid.*, Despatches, Argentine Republic, Vol. 21.

[15] Very little information concerning Binsse has been found. His grandson, Mr. H. L. Binsse of the *Commonweal*, reports that his grandfather's papers were lost or destroyed. The consul, Louis Bancel Binsse, was born February 5, 1819, and died on the above date at his home, 40 West 19th Street, New York. He was buried from St. Vincent de Paul's Church and is buried in Calvary Cemetery. At the time of his appointment he was an importer. In the archives of the Archdiocese of New York are a few of Binsse's letters having no special reference to his consular office. His commission, signed by Cardinal Antonelli, is there; also a letter to Antonelli from Archbishop Hughes, August 27, 1849, recommending Binsse for the office of consul-general left vacant by the death of Desmond; one from Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia to Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1849, supporting the latter's recommendation of Binsse; and three letters from Hughes to Binsse, August 10, 26, and September 6, 1860, accusing the latter of using his office to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. For these facts I am indebted to Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the Archdiocese of New York.

[16] *Treaties and Conventions Concluded between the United States of America and Other Powers since July 4, 1776* (Washington, 1889), p. 588.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

An Outline History of the Church by Centuries. From St. Peter to Pius XII. Second Edition. By JOSEPH MCSORLEY. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. xxix, 1084. $7.50.)

To write the history of the Catholic Church is a sufficiently arduous task; to condense this tremendous story into one volume is immeasurably more difficult. Father McSorley has attempted to sketch the life of the Church from Pentecost to the present, and he has succeeded admirably within the limitations which he imposed upon himself. According to his own admission he has "undertaken no independent research." His facts have been gathered almost exclusively from secondary sources in English. Accordingly it presents nothing new for the professional historian. But it will be a precious mine of valuable information for those who have been searching for a concise, accurate volume on church history. So enthusiastically has it been received that a second edition has appeared only a few months after publication.

Although the book is entitled *An Outline History of the Church*, it is much more than a schematic outline. Father McSorley does not present merely a skeleton of church history; he clothes it with the living flesh and blood of a well-written narrative. The reader will be amazed to see how much historical information the author has crowded into a thousand pages. Prodigious is the only word to describe his ten years of labor in assembling this vast amount of factual material.

As the title indicates, the story is told by centuries and each chapter covers one century. In every chapter there are two principal divisions: the political background and the Church. The political background outlines the secular history so that in the early chapters only the Roman Empire is treated whereas in the later chapters all the nations of Europe and of the two Americas are considered; the history of Asia, Africa, and Oceania appears under missions. In the sections on the Church we find four main subdivisions: first, the papacy, which gives a thumb-nail sketch of each pontiff; second, Catholic life embracing doctrine, discipline, and practice, further subdivided into official teaching, councils, organization, marriage, worship, communities, saints, education, and writers; third, oppo-

sition, which includes difficulties between church and state, heresies, and other disputes; fourth, the missions described according to their geographical location. It is only by enumerating these divisions that one can form an adequate notion of the immense amount of historical information assembled between the covers of the volume.

At the same time these divisions give the book the quality more of an encyclopedia than of a unified history. Various events and characters are studied under so many different divisions that only with difficulty will the volume be used as a class text. For example, consider St. Anselm whom we meet in Chapter XI, as Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1093 (p. 298); six pages further we read that he received honors in 1059 from Nicholas II (this is an error for it was Bishop Anselm of Lucca, whom Nicholas honored); five pages further we learn that he was Abbot of Bec in Normandy under William the Conqueror; three pages beyond we are told that he was one of the earliest scholastic theologians and the chief opponent of nominalism. This scattering of information and this lack of chronological sequence will offer serious difficulties to the professor and to the student alike, although the usefulness of the book as a reference tool is not thus impaired.

Throughout the work the author singles out the sacrament of marriage for detailed consideration while he neglects some of the other sacraments. In particular the sacrament of penance with its special discipline has undergone a most interesting development, but from Father McSorley we learn nothing about it beyond the third century. The penitentials, concerning which volumes have been recently written, are not even mentioned. Occasionally opinions rejected by modern scholarship are advanced, e. g., that St. John Damascene lost his right hand (p. 214). In 1191 the rule of the Teutonic Knights was approved by Celestine III, not Innocent III (p. 366). Although adequate attention is devoted to the conflict between the Moslems and the Church, there is no mention of the Trinitarians or Mercedarians—two religious orders founded to ransom Christian captives and which still flourish today. There are also a few obvious typographical errors: Appolinarianism (p. xvi), *Theologisches Quartalschrift* (p. 823), Pzywara (p. 960), who by the way is a German Jesuit, not a Pole, and Jerusalem (p. 1067). In the list of nineteenth-century theologians (p. 826), M. I. Scheeben, who is generally recognized as the most brilliant, is not included. It is as incorrect to refer to the future Benedict XV as Cardinal Chiesa (p. 945) as it would be to refer to the author as Father Sorley. These, of course, are insignificant items in such a monumental work, but they are mentioned here because the author, in preparation for future editions, has requested the "favor of prompt correction."

Naturally recent history receives more extended treatment. In the last two chapters Father McSorley masterfully describes the Church during the last 140 years. Considerable space is devoted to the Church's growth in

the United States and in Central and South America. Especially commendable is his brief and clear account of that mystery which is contemporary Spain. Disappointing, however, is his study of Italy; and his statement that the Catholic Church enjoyed freedom of worship in Greece (p. 901) is contradicted by an article in the London *Tablet*, "The Anti-Catholic Laws of Greece," (CLXXII, 703-704). It is surprising that there is no mention of either Cardinal Merry del Val or Cardinal Gasparri—two papal secretaries of state who have played important and conspicuous roles in recent church history. Finally, Father McSorley must be congratulated on his forthright, though prudent, consideration of human failure in the Church; unless these failings are honestly discussed, it is impossible to understand the embarrassing predicaments in which the Church has been occasionally placed.

This history is well supplied with maps and statistical charts. In addition, at the end of each chapter is a convenient summary and a chronological chart listing the foremost events. The book closes with a bibliography, list of the popes and of the ecumenical councils, and an index. The bibliography fills twenty-five pages and serves its purpose of introducing the reader to the more important English works on church history. The index runs to forty-eight pages and is competently done. Corrections have been made in the second edition of the index but it would be further improved by more cross references—e. g., reference is given to Pierleon but none to Anacletus II. There is also the question of forenames and surnames. Why refer to St. John Fisher under Fisher and St. John Berchmans under John? Unless uniform practice is adopted, cross references are essential. Many names mentioned in the text are not cited in the index. This book which will often be used only for reference, needs a more comprehensive index; and even at the expense of enlarging the volume all names and events should be indexed.

The work definitely satisfies a distinct need in the historical field. Now busy priests have a handy and authoritative volume with which to refresh their knowledge of church history acquired in the seminary; educated Catholics have available a thoroughly readable account of the Church's activities throughout the centuries; parish libraries and study clubs have a church history to fit their budget; Catholic high school and college libraries have a comprehensive study for ready reference. And it will be a deed worthy of Catholic Action to see that this work is added to the public libraries for those outside the Church who want the truth.

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The Church and the Liberal Society. By EMMET JOHN HUGHES. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xv, 307. $3.00.)

The Catholic Book Club did well to select Mr. Hughes' history of the birth, life, and suicide of the Liberal Society, for it is a basically sound account. Its chief merit lies in assembling excellent material, in synthesizing the work of such scholars as Gilson, Tawney, and Dawson, and in presenting it intelligibly to the lay reader. Mr. Hughes proves an excellent medium between the scholar and the non-professional reading public—and more such works as this are sorely needed in a day when professional historians condemn popularization of their own work, thus leaving the field open to the Gunthers and the Ludwigs.

The author attempts, in a slender volume, to penetrate "the uncritically revered Liberal historiography" and to tell the story of how the Liberal Society rose on the ruins of mediaevalism. He seeks to analyze the assumptions of this society and to show how they contained within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. And he attempts to show how the practices and the beliefs of this society conflicted with the Catholic Church, "that creed's most uncompromising and virile critic." The work is indiative of the immense amount of critical investigation into the myth of liberalism that is now in order. More extensive and deeper investigations should be made into each of the paths that Mr. Hughes treads but lightly.

While such a work as this meets a real need for the average reader, the professional historian will find almost nothing original in *The Church and the Liberal Society*. On this point the historian can well object that the author too frequently relies upon the analysis of one authority for each point discussed when he could well have used many others. The professional historian is also likely to object to the author's failure to use readily available original sources instead of taking quotations second-hand. This is an objection with which the reviewer has little patience when the quotations are accurate, as these are. In this case, moreover, Mr. Hughes has achieved the rhetorical effect—consciously or unconsciously—of showing how different an interpretation can be placed upon the material used by liberal and Marxist historians.

The book has both the virtues and the vices of a young author's work; it is freshly and provocatively, but not always too carefully, written. The critical reader cannot help feeling occasionally that Mr. Hughes is sometimes less of a historian telling a story objectively than he is a son of the Church entering into the fray. It is hard, for example, to follow the author when he speaks of Father Hecker and Archbishop Ireland attacking the liberal faith in its hour of most complete success and glory. Both of these men were somewhat liberal themselves, and Catholics of their day argued whether they belonged in the liberal camp or in the Catholic. This will be the historian's chief criticism of *The Church and the Liberal Society*: that

it paints in black and white a picture that sometimes is confused and full of shadings.

But Mr. Hughes does a good job in making a popularized attack on the Liberal Society from the Catholic point of view where all too often in the past it was made only from the Marxist viewpoint. For this reason he is able in his concluding section to conduct an autopsy on liberalism (perhaps the best chapter in the book) and to show how Fascist-Nazi practices and theories arose quite naturally from the decadent body of liberal dogmas and how the liberal was unable to fight back. The author does not write his history of this struggle between the liberal and Catholic faiths for its own sake, but rather to clear the reader's mind for future action. Thus he concludes by showing that the connection between democracy and liberalism is only accidental, that there is no opposition between Catholicism and democracy, and that the latter can live only by divorcing itself from the liberal faith and aligning itself with the teaching of the Church on man's nature and destiny. He shows how illiberal is the Liberal Society and how its most virile critic has been truly liberal.

The work is well-documented and fairly well-indexed. Of particular value to the lay reader and professional historian alike is a chapter-by-chapter critical bibliography. No two historians will agree with all of Mr. Hughes' comments on the works cited, but his criticism is generally quite sound.

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The Great Century in North Africa and Asia. A. D. 1800-A. D. 1914. Vol. VI, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity.* By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. (New York: Harper and Bros. Pp. ix, 502. $4.00.)

In the sixth volume of *A History of the Expansion of Christianity,* Professor Latourette concludes the mission history of Christianity for the period, 1800-1914. Volume IV of the series covered the same period in Europe and the United States, while the fifth volume considered the missionary endeavor in the remaining sections of the Americas, Australia, and Africa south of the Sahara. The present volume is concerned with missionary activity in North Africa and Asia. The work is very timely. All of the territory studied in preparation for this volume has been, is, or will be the scene of war activity in the Far East. North Africa, India, Burma, Siam, French Indo-China, China, Japan, Korea, and Russia in Asia are reviewed here. Thousands of Allied troops in the East are today witnessing the effects of this missionary work.

Nineteenth-century Christian missionary activity was of such scope that Professor Latourette deemed it necessary to devote three volumes to that period, the same space required for the previous eighteen centuries. Re-

gardless of this fact, the present volume, even more than the two which precede it, appears to be crowded. This is so because the present work considers Asia, which was the mission field to which the greatest number of missionaries were sent during that period. Long sections are devoted to the recording of a great number of missionary movements and names, with little narration of the actual missionary work of these individuals. One feels at times that he is reading a guide to the nineteenth-century missions of Asia, rather than a history of them. The first three volumes of the series left a feeling that the work was complete, but this is not true of the volumes which are concerned with the nineteenth century. The list of undertakings in Asia, which require a more detailed history, is too long to be included here. One familiar with the Catholic mission history of India and China will note many men and works which are mentioned in passing, but which require more space for a full account of the missions in these countries. Certainly nobody realizes this more than the author. His *History of the Christian Missions in China*, (New York, 1929) devotes 475 pages to the period, 1800-1914. In the present volume this has been condensed to 116 pages. Numerous footnotes refer to the previous work for a fuller treatment of the subject and the very large though select bibliography points the way to more exhaustive study of the subject, not only for China but for all the sections of Asia.

The enumeration of Protestant missionary groups which have labored in Asia, especially since 1860, presents a picture which is astonishing. So great has this number been that for the first time in the series a much greater amount of space has necessarily been voted to Protestant missionary endeavor than to the Catholic; 114 pages as compared to thirty-three pages in the case of India, seventy to forty-one pages in the case of China. It should be noted, however, that this has been due in great part to the necessity of listing a greater number of independent Protestant groups, rather than to a greater number of individual missionaries. The great majority of Protestant missionaries to Asia were from English-speaking lands: the United States, Canada, the British Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. Few of the Catholic missionaries were from these territories. In this fact the Protestants have had the advantage during a greater part of the period because of the prestige which England and the United States have enjoyed in Asia.

The effect of the war is noted in the paper used in the present volume. It is of lighter weight than that employed in the two previous volumes and much lighter than that used in Volume I, which undoubtedly was intended for the entire series. However, it is a much better grade of paper than one finds in many current publications and is not transparent to the point of making reading difficult. The same careful editing which marked the previous volumes is again evident. There was but one misprint noted, "Cathloic" in the last line of page 292. In the narration of missionary

activity in Korea, the present work goes back to 1593, very probably because Korea was mentioned only in connection with China in Volume III.

The last volume of the series, *Summary and Conclusions*, will be eagerly awaited by both Protestants and Catholics. The conclusions of the author will probably round out the narrative of the last three volumes. Professor Latourette has again given evidence of his deep, unbiased scholarship. As in the previous volumes, the bibliography of twenty-seven pages includes only those titles which have been cited more than once in the text. The index is full and complete, and five very useful maps have been appended.

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Men of Maryknoll. By JAMES KELLER and MEYER BERGER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. 191. $2.00.)

Perhaps the best way to describe this volume is in the words which are found on the jacket: "This book is the simple moving and dramatic story of Maryknollers at work in China, Japan, the Philippines and South America. It is a book of action and adventure that came as part of the Maryknollers' daily work—the stories, for the most part, of young Americans caught in the savage tide of war."

The reader who expects to find here a scientific missiological treatise of the Maryknoll missions and methods of evangelization, will be disappointed. It is definitely not this type of work, nor was it intended to be such. The work is written in a simple, popular, one might almost say, journalistic style. Nevertheless, it does give an insight, indirectly at least, into the methods used by Maryknollers. Essentially they are the same means as the Church has used through the centuries, though appropriately streamlined in keeping with the scientific progress of the times. This book gives the lie to a concept very prevalent amongst many Europeans—that the Americans are too soft to do foreign mission work. If it did nothing more than correct this false impression, it would have served a definite need. For this reason a translation into the various European languages would be of inestimable value.

One drawback to the book as a whole might be found in the chapter entitled "Jungle Padres." The particular people spoken of here, among whom the Maryknollers are working in South America, are undoubtedly of the primitive type described. Many Americans, however, in reading this chapter are apt to generalize and place all South Americans in this same category due to the preconceived notion existing in this country for many years that South America is, as a whole, a backward, uncivilized, and uncultured continent. It must be admitted, nevertheless, that it would have been difficult for the authors to have corrected this false notion without going too far afield.

Neither footnotes, bibliography, nor alphabetical index are found in the book, but such could hardly be expected in view of the fact, as was pointed out above, that the purpose of the authors was merely to write a popular work and not a scientific missiological study. Their sources were first-hand, since they consisted of reports, diaries, and letters from the missionaries working in the various missionary fields.

The work is most interesting throughout. It is sufficiently lengthy to give a bird's-eye view of the Maryknoll foreign mission field without boring the reader with too many useless details. The work of the Maryknoll Sisters is not described, but this is understandable in view of the title. Perhaps a companion book describing their work might be written. *Men of Maryknoll* could be read with profit by every American, for it is an excellent account of the battles waged against paganism by the soldiers of Christ on the various fronts of the mission world.

JOSEPH C. WILD

Oblate Scholasticate
Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Exile without an End. By CHAPMAN J. MILLING. (Columbia, South Carolina: Bostick and Thornley, Inc., 1943. Pp. xii, 88. $2.00.)

In a monograph, excellently written and beautifully printed, Dr. Milling reconstructs a little-known episode in the history of South Carolina. In sympathetic devotion to his forebears he tells the tragic story of the exiles from the land of primeval forests and murmuring pines and hemlocks—the land of Acadia, the home of the happy—who, hapless victims of the shuffling of European colonial politics of the period, were shipped as cattle to the Port of Charles Town in the colony of South Carolina in 1755.

This shipment to Carolina carried only a small part of the population of that happy land, who were distributed throughout the colonies, from New England to Georgia "with the hope that in time their language, their predilections, and even the recollections of their origin, would be lost amidst the mass of English people with whom they were incorporated." Dumped into Charles Town were "six hundred French people, all of them Catholics . . . . In this Province (South Carolina) dedicated to religious freedom, there was no place for a Christian whose face looked toward Rome." The wanderings, the hardships, and the miseries of these exiles in Carolina, together with some of their brethren from Georgia, their treatment at the hands of the officials and their gradual disappearance by migration or absorption are the subjects of Dr. Milling's well-documented study.

"So strong is the attachment of the Acadians to the superstitions of the Romish religion, that tho' they are well used here, live comfortably and get a great deal of money, yet they are all going to leave this Province as

well as Georgia . . . merely that they have their priests with them." Such was the glowing tribute, unconsciously paid, to the fidelity of an exiled race to the faith of their fathers by the *South Carolina Gazette*, August 6, 1763. *Exile Without An End* traces the faint paths of the few who remained. "They were," says Dr. Milling, "chiefly young children whose parents, now dead, were exiles, despised, feared and ostracized. They were taught by their masters that their religion was something foreign and repugnant. They had no family life to help maintain the memories of their homeland. When they reached man's estate they must perforce seek wives among those of English blood, English language and Protestant faith. Their children were unlikely to cherish their stories of old miseries, injustices and discrimination."

Dr. Milling is of the blood of the exiles. Among the others of like descent undoubtedly the most famous is Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, one of America's outstanding classical scholars. In the light of the mass expulsions carried out in recent years by German *Macht* in building up Hitler's now-tottering citadel of Europe, we of today can readily understand the fate of the exiles of other ages who were used as pawns in the hands of tyrants and dictators. The Acadians had endured the surrender of all their earthly possessions and all the terrors of exile "because of their passive resistance to a tyrant and dictator and because they chose to remain true to their religious convictions and to principles which they were unwilling to surrender." We can, indeed, profit by their example. We are debtors to Dr. Milling for his contribution to the never-ending story of those who "suffer persecution for justice' sake."

JOSEPH L. O'BRIEN

Bishop England High School
Charleston

St. Charles Seminary—Overbrook. (Philadelphia: Jefferies and Manz, Publishers. 1943. Pp. ix, 401. $3.00.)

This book was written, according to its preface, by a group of students under the direction of Father George E. O'Donnell. They have produced a splendid history of their seminary and its achievements from 1832 to 1943.

After a foreword by the Most Reverend Hugh L. Lamb, Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia, the story of the seminary is told from the early years of establishment and incorporation at South Fifth Street through all the vicissitudes of development and expansion at Eighteenth Street and at Glen Riddle, down to the modern, well-equipped structures at Overbrook. Lists of all officials and members of the faculty, together with a record of all ordinations, are given in several appendices in chronological order from the establishment of the diocese to the present. Pictures of all secular priests

of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia in 1943 are reproduced at the end of the volume.

With the refreshing enthusiasm of students, the contribution of their own seminary to the cause of religion over a period of more than a hundred years, is faithfully recorded. On page after page there pass in almost crowded review the bishops and archbishops of Philadelphia, tireless in their efforts to promote the interests of the seminary; visiting prelates and dignitaries, interested in the training of worthy priests; rectors and illustrious professors, many of them called to places in the hierarchy; the life and daily routine of the students, with their occasional participation in the important activities of the Church; and finally an endless procession of newly-ordained priests into all parts of the Lord's vineyard.

St. Charles Seminary—Overbrook is something more than a history of the seminary in Philadelphia. It is really an illustrated appreciation of the importance of a seminary in the life of the Church in any diocese. The seminary in Philadelphia, as reported in this book, is an ideal example.

It is possible that further investigation would have reduced considerably the list of names on pages 242 and 243. They are the names of priests who served in the diocese for whom no biographical data was obtained. James Eich, for example, is probably the priest who was consecrated coadjutor bishop in Great Namaqualand in South Africa in 1942; and Martin Kundig is probably the subject of Father Peter Leo Johnson's *Stuffed Saddlebags;* he is also mentioned in several other works. The name of Mount Saint Mary's Seminary of the West should be added to the list of seminaries (p. 7); it was founded at Cincinnati by Bishop Edward D. Fenwick in 1829. Other inaccuracies or inconsistencies are unimportant; they are probably the logical result of collaboration.

WILLIAM J. GAUCHE

Mt. St. Mary Seminary of the West
Cincinnati

American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy. By MADELEINE HOOKE RICE. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. No. 508.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 177. $2.50.)

An adequate history of the Catholic Church in the United States would include, besides the organizational development of the Church, the history of Catholic thought on social problems. Mrs. Rice's work is a welcome contribution to the latter. The scope of her study is limited to the United States, and the Catholic opinion is admittedly unofficial, derived from the individual views of representative clergymen and laymen. Mrs. Rice, however, has not limited herself to the oft-repeated writings of Bishop John England and Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick but has added the thought of less-publicized Catholic representatives.

The complex elements that influenced Catholics in the application of Catholic doctrine to the concrete situation are well treated: conservative background, contemporary anti-Catholic revolutionists in Europe, in the United States fear of centralized government, the minority position of Catholics, Nativism, the laity's fear of economic competition from the free Negro, affiliation of Catholics with the Democratic Party, and, above all, sectional public opinion. These factors help explain why until 1861 Catholics were generally opposed to abolition. Denying that slavery was intrinsically evil, yet aware of the evils connected with the system of slavery, Catholics desired eventual emancipation. In these conclusions Mrs. Rice agrees with previous writers on the subject. However, she correctly points out that during the period of the Civil War the Catholic position took on a more "pro-slavery" appearance from the "pontifical tone" of some members of the Catholic press. In this view two Catholic anti-slavery editors of that day, Orestes A. Brownson and the Reverend Edward Purcell, the editor of the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*, would heartily concur.

Mrs. Rice is duly conscious of the scarcity of collected and available source material, especially concerning Catholic slaveholders. Anent the press, one notices the absence of the *Propagateur Catholique* of New Orleans and its fiery pro-southern editor, the Reverend Napoleon Perché. The German Catholic papers and the best German spokesman of the times for Catholicism, Archbishop Henni of Milwaukee, also might have been included. Nevertheless, further investigation will probably confirm the picture given by the "representative" spokesmen of this study. One feels that in minimizing the part of Christianity in the destruction of slavery in Europe, too sharp a division has been drawn between social and religious aspects. At the risk of seeming picayunish, it might be added that several general remarks on the opinions of Catholics and on Catholic leadership could be eliminated as not in accordance with the scope of the study.

Much of the matter of this book has been written before, but often scattered throughout histories that have concentrated on the organizational development of the Church. Mrs. Rice has focused this material and that of her own additional research on the specific topic of slavery. She thus adds another very valuable monograph to the history of social thought among Catholics. For the proper adjustment of social relations throughout the world this analysis of the successes and failures of Catholics during the slavery controversy furnishes a good background for sane and provocative thinking.

ANTHONY H. DEYE

St. Anne Convent
Melbourne, Kentucky

The Apostle of Alaska. Life of the Most Reverend Charles John Seghers. A translation of Maurice de Baets' "Vie de Monsigneur Seghers". By SISTER MARY MILDRED, S.S.A. (Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 292. $2.50.)

This translation into English of the biography of Archbishop Seghers serves to dispel a void in the ecclesiastical history of the Pacific Northwest. A plentiful literature preserves for us the details of the activities of his two famous predecessors, Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet and Bishop Modeste Demers, whose arrival at Fort Vancouver in 1838 marked the introduction of the Catholic Church into the old Oregon Country. Within eight years an ecclesiastical province, composed of an archiepiscopal see and two suffragan dioceses, had been erected there. Father Blanchet became the first Archbishop of Oregon and continued to preside over it for thirty-five years. Father Demers became the first Bishop of Vancouver Island and directed its destinies for a quarter of a century.

The biography of Archbishop Seghers takes up the theme of the Church's history in Oregon where the records of the Blanchet era leave off. It is a fascinating and unique story that is revealed to us. It tells how Father Seghers, as a newly-ordained priest, came to Vancouver Island in 1863. At the time the whole of Alaska was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Vancouver Island. It was a missionary diocese, with few white Catholics, and the young missionary immediately dedicated himself to the conversion of the Indians, and for a time labored tirelessly in their behalf. In recognition of his missionary zeal he was named to succeed Bishops Demers upon the death of the latter in 1871. In 1878, he was named coadjutor to Archbishop Blanchet of Oregon, and when that aged prelate resigned two years later, he assumed responsibility for the administration. But Archbishop Seghers' heart remained with the Indians of his former jurisdiction, and in 1884 he obtained the permission of Rome to resign from the Oregon see and was re-appointed Bishop of Vancouver Island. Thus, the future apostle of Alaska succeeded successively to the two apostles of the old Oregon Country. After his return to Vancouver Island, he made the Indians of Alaska more and more the object of his zeal. Altogether, he undertook five journeys to Alaska in their behalf. On the last of these, he was assassinated by Francis Fuller, who seems to have been a lay companion of his missionary efforts.

The author describes these journeys and the final tragedy with considerable detail, but not until he has given a lengthy character sketch of the archbishop and a survey of the history and topography of the scenes of his activities. Perhaps it would be truer to say that he presents a characterization of the spiritual life which he drapes about the shoulders of Seghers after the manner of a mantle. While reading the history and studying the topography, it must be remembered that the biography was written in

1896, when source material was scarce and far from accurate. However, the translator has supplemented this edition with numerous translator's notes in the form of an appendix.

The narrative proper is devoted to the journeys of the archbishop, and is interspersed by quotations from his letters, which give some details of the methods employed by him in his labors, as well as of the hardships under which he labored. The book, however, fails to produce a sense of satisfaction, largely because of the many problems that are passed over rapidly, without offering a complete solution; rather, it leaves the reader with a feeling of frustration. Interest is aroused by the repeated reference to the discontent of the Oblates, resulting in their final withdrawal from the diocese; but no explanation is given. Then, too, there was the question of the resignation of Seghers from the see of Oregon; the author attempts, with painstaking care, to convince the reader that the only motive was the desire of the archbishop to return to the scenes of his former labors among the Indians. And yet, when he bade farewell to the people of Oregon, he is quoted as having said: "I came to you with an olive branch in one hand and a sword in the other." And the author observes that he was obliged to wield the sword, especially in regard to the Catholic schools. What story lies behind this simple statement? Does it suggest the real cause of his resignation? Another problem had to do with the assassin of Seghers: was Francis Fuller a religious or a layman, and what was his real position on the mission? On these points the reader is left in a state of uncertainty. This confusion is increased by the unexplained failure of the civil authorities to convict Fuller of his crime; the attempt of the author to explain this failure is totally unsatisfactory.

The translator has done her work well. It is evident that she had mastered her subject before undertaking her task. She has freed herself from the formalism of the author, and has translated the material into easy-flowing English that is pleasant to read. The volume is well-annotated and contains a workable index.

JAMES P. KEHOE

University of Portland

GENERAL HISTORY

Force and Freedom. Reflections on History. By JACOB BURCKHARDT. Edited by James Hastings Nichols. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1943. Pp. vi, 382. $3.50.)

The essays to be found in this volume are translated from lectures which Jacob Burckhardt delivered in Basle in 1869-1871; they were published posthumously in German in 1905 under the title *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* and soon won renown. There are in German not many books on history which deserve so well to be presented to the English-speaking world as the essays in which Burckhardt gave the essence of his historical

insight. Thus, this volume will put an end to the somewhat boring approach which sees in the historian of Basle only the author of the *Civilization of the Italian Renaissance* and perhaps of the *Cicerone*.

The volume includes an introduction on the study of history, a discussion of "The Three Powers" which Burckhardt considered as basic to any human history: state, religion and culture, a survey of "The Reciprocal Action of the Three Powers," and three essays in which the author was at his best: "The Crises of History," "The Great Men of History," and "On Fortune and Misfortune in History." The wealth of material and of insight displayed here is such as could come only from one to whom the study of history was not only a profession, but a vocation and a personal consolation, from a man who, furthermore, was entitled to write: "originality must be possessed, not striven for" (p. 215).

Rarely was a higher dignity bestowed on historical writing than by Burckhardt who, when discussing the work of the mediaeval Benedictines, exclaimed: "the survey of the world and its history was threatened with extinction," and who terminates his discussion on "Fortune and Misfortune in History" with a paragraph on the historian's activity, the last words of which read: "Any man with such a vision in mind would completely forget about fortune and misfortune, and would spend his life in the quest of that knowledge."

It is impossible to indicate the abundance of topics included in these essays within the space limits of an ordinary review—the reader will find a thorough distrust of any construction or abstraction, but an almost unique strength of concrete historical vision. At least three times (pp. 184, 234, 331) the historian of Basle insists: "power is of its nature evil . . . . It is not stability but a lust and ipso facto insatiable," a sentence which may go back to Thucydides, and which is known to the English-speaking world in the formulation which Lord Acton gave to it in a letter to Creighton written in 1887.

It should, however, be mentioned that certain views of Burckhardt as expressed in this volume, e. g., on the Middle Ages, do not express the ultimate judgment of the historian; to learn his final view, one may consult the fragments from his lectures in the 1880's published in Volume VII of the *Gesamtausgabe*.

To the Catholic reader it may be of interest to note that the first part of the *Reflections on History* can be considered almost as an argument against a work of Doellinger's colleague in the University of Munich, Ernest von Lasaulx, on which Lord Acton—in a review of Buckle—pronounced that "since Schlegel, so brilliant a work had not appeared," i. e., in the field of the philosophy of history.

The preface to the volume by James Hastings Nichols, otherwise very stimulating, fails to evaluate Lasaulx in a proper way.

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

The Catholic University of America

The Building of Eternal Rome. By EDWARD KENNARD RAND, Pope Professor of Latin Emeritus in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 318. $3.50.)

The author of *The Founders of the Middle Ages* presents in this volume a series of eight lectures given at the Lowell Institute of Harvard University during February and March, 1942. No subject could have been more timely than that of *The Building of Eternal Rome* because in the long history of Rome there never was a greater danger of total destruction than at the present moment. Although the author assures the reader that the vision of the Eternal City will abide above the turmoil as before, ready for human eyes to see, the effect of reading this inspiring book is the feeling of a solemn duty to safeguard Rome in the name of human dignity and Christian civilization.

Professor Rand's concern is not primarily with the external facts of history, although they form the background; it is rather with the spirit and the genius of Rome as expressed in political institutions, art, literature, philosophic thought, and religion. He invites the reader to contemplate its course down the centuries, ever changing, ever the same, *urbs nova et aeterna*, and finally to consider in what sense it exists today. Thus he shows that the sense of the might and majesty of Eternal Rome was felt as far back as the remains of Roman literature extend, that is to the age of Ennius at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B. C. He then follows the history of that sentiment from the days of the Republic to the establishment of the Ideal Empire under Augustus. Succinctly he deals with the decline and fall, the transformation of Rome into the City of God, and the establishment of a new Rome in Constantinople. A final chapter, "The Eternal City," sums up how Greece and Rome and the Church of Christ have built an *urbs aeterna* whose timelessness is the right of its citizens upon earth.

Beautifully written, the present volume is a work of popularization by a scholar devoted through a long life to humanistic studies. Firmly convinced that only literature, prose and poetry, gives the full flowering of history, of science, and of art, he analyzes throughout the book monuments of both poetry and prose in such a way as to present a series of brief essays on Latin literature. It is this special feature which makes the reading of this volume so delightful. Thus Cicero, Ovid, Horace, and Virgil, as well as Lactantius, Rutilius Namantianus, Augustine, and Dante are evaluated in their contribution to the building of Eternal Rome. Moreover, the author betrays a fine understanding of the genius and spirit of the Roman liturgy.

Perhaps historians will be disappointed and find fault with the fifth chapter, in which the author deals with the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Professor Rand admits that he is unable to locate the point when Rome began to decline. He does not enumerate the theories which have

been advanced in order to explain this phenomenon. He does not tell us whether he subscribes to T. Frank's idea that the decline was the result of the deterioration of the Roman race, caused by the mixing with foreign blood or to O. Seeck's biological theory that the downfall followed the extermination of the best men by the long exterior and interior wars of the empire. He declares openly that he does not pay much attention to the workings of social, political, and economic factors. He has a timeless view of events. He is not concerned with the tottering fabric of the state but with that new power that restored the Ideal Empire in a Christian form. It seems to this reviewer, that he is right in doing so. The problem of the decline and fall of Rome is not so much an economic, racial, or political problem as a revolution in the world of thought. Every political or economic theory may call the passing from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages a process of barbarization; but as far as morality and ethics are concerned it cannot be spoken of as a decline. Even the intellectual side shows a rise from the darkness of the third century to the towering eminence of St. Augustine. There is some truth in Mr. Rand's statement: "Decline and fall are relative terms. It depends on the observer" (p. 177).

One precious monument escaped the attention of the author. It is the epitaph of Abercius of Hieropolis from the end of the second century which W. M. Ramsay of the University of Aberdeen discovered in 1883 in the ancient *Phrygia Salutaris*. Now one of the treasures of the Lateran Museum in Rome, this valuable inscription contains the oldest appreciation of the majesty and might of Eternal Rome and the City of God in Christian poetry. Abercius says of Christ:

> He sent me to Rome, to behold a kingdom
> And to see a queen with golden robes and golden shoes.
> There I saw a people bearing the splendid seal.

JOHANNES QUASTEN

The Catholic University of America

The Heritage of Spain, An Introduction to Spanish Civilization. By NICHOLSON B. ADAMS, Professor of Spanish in the University of North Carolina. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1943. Pp. 311. $2.50.)

This introduction to Spanish civilization, lavishly illustrated with handsome photographs, comes at a time when many eyes are turned toward the other American republics, and when, therefore, many students in our Latin-American courses might be tempted to dip into the brilliant kaleidoscopic story of Spain. The book is modest in scope, and is obviously designed for laymen. In it the author has tried to touch upon the varied aspects of the Spanish heritage—racial, political, artistic, musical, and above all literary—from the beginnings of Spanish history to our times.

This is manifestly a big assignment for a single volume; but the author aimed at an introductory survey. For those who demand more, general bibliographical aids and special chapter bibliographies have been provided.

Professor Adams' approach is not always easy to apprehend, because he has not always succeeded in fitting his painters, poets, monarchs, and saints into a pattern of Spanish history—the result being that the reader will run the risk of losing sight of Spain for her heroes—but he seems to be more naturalistic in his interpretations than Christian, more liberal in his attitudes to government and progress than traditional. Thus Charles V's renunciation of the world is passed over with the statement that he "grew tired and gave up the reigns of government" to retire to the monastery of Yuste (p. 120). He observes that "Spain has never been remarkable in the development of systematic thought" (pp. 134-135) without connecting this absence with Spanish faith and mysticism. He does not fully grasp the significance of the impact of eighteenth-century French ideas on the Spanish mind, or the effects of political liberalism in the peninsula. Toward Franco's Spain he shows the greatest indignation: "If Spain survived nearly eight centuries of fighting against Moors and then rose to be the most powerful nation on the globe, at the same time pouring out her genius in splendid manifestations of art in all its forms, she can survive a Fascist régime or worse" (p. 288).

There are a few other things in the book to which one might take exception. It is not correct, for example, to say that Galician is a dialect of Portuguese (p. 8). Alfonso Henriques (whom the author calls Alfonso Enriques) first dubbed himself king in 1139; he captured Lisbon from the Moslems in 1147 (p. 26). The promises of autonomy which Philip II made at Tomar are more extensive than Mr. Adams believes (p. 123). In discussing the question of Iberian unity (p. 123), the author gives no thought to the fact that you cannot have union without the desire for the union. He brings up and tacitly supports Madariaga's contention that Columbus was a Galician Jew (p. 136), a question that Morison has already sufficiently aired. In his account of sixteenth-century historiography, he leaves out the most important Spanish-American chronicler of all, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (pp. 136-137). The title of Unamuno's book is incorrectly given (p. 296).

The book is not, in the reviewer's opinion, an entirely adequate account of the subject it treats. But the average reader, interested only in a general survey and willing to bear in mind the problem of attitudes raised earlier, ought to find it a useful outline of Spanish civilization.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

The Early History of Deposit Banking in Mediterranean Europe. By ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, Professor of Economics in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xx, 649. $5.00.)

Scholars may well be reverent before the evidence of meticulous scholarship with which Professor Usher has crowned his long investigations into the history of early banking. An immense amount of labor has gone into this study, hard labor with primary historical records, and a great deal of thought has been expended on the results of that labor. While sources were available from a great many European centers, the most significant single item is the record of the bank of deposit of Barcelona.

The work is divided into two sections: the first on the general features of early credit, and the second on a much more detailed discussion of banking in Catalonia from 1240 to 1743. There are included excellent tables on the extremely complex coinage of Castile and Catalonia and a glossary of of the more common terms in both English and Catalan. An exhaustive bibliography is also included.

The essential findings of the study are the complete continuity in the development of banking and credit methods which the author feels has been obscured, rather than aided by the theorists; and secondly, the very early appearance of credit transactions in their modern forms, although not always under modern appearances. Professor Usher's main reliance in these studies is on the actual banking records and instruments, but it is supplemented by ample data from cognate fields such as law. While the theological aspects of usury are not ignored, they are not treated extensively, but happily they are free from the unfortunate expressions which have marred a number of similar studies. A possible ambiguity may arise in what seems to be a rather strong emphasis on "credit creation" by the early banks. There is a sense in which almost any improvement in banking facilities is inflationary. On the other hand, credit creation has come to mean something fairly definite. The connection of the very early banks with this second sense, although perhaps real, can hardly be regarded as critical.

Professor Usher's study is invaluable, and with the projected volumes in the same series, should shed much-needed light in dark corners of economic history that awaited the combination of the industry and insight which characterize this work.

BERNARD W. DEMPSEY

St. Louis University

War and Peace Aims of the United Nations, September 1, 1939—December 31, 1942. Edited by LOUISE W. HOLBORN, Ph.D., Radcliffe College. (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1943. Pp. xv, 730. $2.50.)

Assembled in this compact, accurately-edited volume are the most important documents issued by the different sovereign states composing the

United Nations. Included are speeches by executive members of the governments as well as communiqués, declarations, treaties, economic agreements, press interviews, and letters. The texts are given in English and the necessary translations have been obtained from official sources. The chapters are arranged according to countries and in each section a chronological order is followed. Because these documents have been gathered from so many sources which are not easily available, the student of peace will appreciate the value of this complete collection in one volume.

The first chapter contains the joint declarations of the United Nations. Then continue in order the following sections: the United States of America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, including an interesting and informative appendix on British declarations concerning India, the Union of Soviet Republics, China, the various occupied countries, and the Central and South American Republics.

Realizing the valuable contributions made to the cause of peace by various religious authorities, the editor has added pertinent passages from the peace messages of Pius XII and statements from the religious leaders of the United States and Great Britain. Among these we find reports from the Catholic Association for International Peace, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Cardinal Hinsley. Because the opposition parties in democratic countries have also formulated principles on this subject, the author has published several speeches by such outstanding Republicans as Willkie, Dewey, Hoover, Martin, and Stassen as well as manifestoes by the English Labor and Liberal Parties. An adequate bibliography and an excellent index complete this indispensable work on peace.

Reading these documents one cannot fail to be impressed by the frequency with which President Roosevelt, Vice-President Wallace, Lord Halifax, Mackenzie King of Canada, Menzies of Australia, and the late General Sikorski of Poland refer to God and to Christian moral principles in their addresses. This understanding of the moral foundation of peace is heartening for those who earnestly advocate a just and lasting peace. On the other hand, the section on the Union of Soviet Republics gives evidence that expediency, not moral principles, has dictated Russian policy. In the chapter on China is found some of the clearest thinking in the book. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in her plea for an international police-force (pp. 394-395) and the Chinese ambassador to the United States, Dr. Hu Shih, in his discussion of a "League to Enforce Peace" (pp. 396-397), throw new light on these highly controversial issues.

Today in our effort to understand the war we give too much credence to the facile explanations of the seemingly omniscient commentators and columnists. Documents still have a definite value. They are the official interpretation of national policies. If we really desire to know what kind

of peace the future offers, it is not enough to listen to the radio and to glance through the newspapers; it is necessary to read and study authoritative books, such as *War and Peace Aims of the United Nations*.

HARRY C. KOENIG

St. Mary of the Lake Seminary
Mundelein

MODERN HISTORY

The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria. By C. E. BLACK. [Princeton Studies in History, Vol. I.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943. Pp. x, 344. $3.75.)

It is typical of the growing interest in Eastern European history that this first volume of the Princeton Studies in History is devoted to Bulgaria. And at a moment when the very existence of some of the smaller countries in that part of Europe is being questioned, it is instructive to study how some sixty years ago one of these nations, immediately after its liberation, strove for the establishment of a truly democratic and at the same time efficient form of government.

The origin of the constitution which, in 1879, was adopted in the same city of Tirnovo whose conquest by the Turks, in 1393, resulted in almost five hundred years of foreign domination; the brief suspension of that constitution, from 1881 to 1883, after two years of struggle between the first prince of restored Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, and the political parties; and the achievement of stability, through the restoration of the constitution, in 1883-85—these are the main problems discussed in Dr. Black's excellent work. Its main concern is, therefore, with the internal policy of Bulgaria between two decisive events of international significance: the Russo-Turkish war of 1878 which put an end to Turkish rule in Bulgaria proper, and the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia in September, 1885. It might have been desirable to give, as a background, some details about the two treaties of 1878: the Treaty of San Stefano, the boundaries of which never ceased to be the great aim of Bulgarian nationalism, and the Treaty of Berlin where the territory of the new state was so considerably reduced. The disappointment thus created explains to a large extent not only the foreign policy of Bulgaria, but also the persistent internal tension of the following years.

Considering these external conditions of Bulgaria's liberation something sufficiently known, Dr. Black gives us, in compensation, an introductory chapter on the social and intellectual background of the constitution, which certainly was not the easiest to write but is undoubtedly one of the best in the book, containing extremely valuable information on the conditions under Turkish rule and on the national revival of the Bulgarians under

the influence of Western ideas. Another particularly interesting chapter objectively discusses the interference of the European powers in the affairs of the liberated country, especially the overwhelming influence of Russia which sometimes seemed to turn Bulgaria into a Russian protectorate. Only the last chapter is less satisfactory than the others, because most of these eight pages of conclusion is only a summary of the volume.

Its thoroughness and reliability are guaranteed by the author's outstanding knowledge of the country and of its language. A large part of his material, described in a very useful bibliographical essay, is Bulgarian and includes the official minutes of the National Assembly as well as the contemporary newspapers. Equally important are the unpublished reports of the diplomatic agents of Austria-Hungary and Great Britain, which Dr. Black carefully studied in the archives of both countries. A similar first-hand knowledge of the analogous Russian material would have been desirable, but since this material has been extensively utilized in a recent monograph by S. Skazkin, Dr. Black was able to complete his general picture by quoting from this study and also from other Russian publications.

The author ought to be congratulated on his achievement, and we are entitled to expect from him many other valuable contributions to Eastern European history.

OSKAR HALECKI

Fordham University

The Netherlands. Edited by BARTHOLOMEW LANDHEER. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 464. $5.00.)

This excellent, although all too-succinct compendium of information on salient aspects of Netherlands history, the second volume in the United Nations Series, will be welcomed by all. Its appearance is opportune, not only because it calls attention to the injustice perpetrated upon the Dutch people on May 10, 1940, but also because it is the only brief treatise in English now available in which the remarkable culture of the Netherlands can be studied. Modern civilization, in spite of its more or less universal aspects, tends to revolve around national political entities. Some of the smaller powers have an enviable record of successful management of problems from which the larger states could well profit. Nevertheless, students usually ignore the solid achievements of the smaller states in spite of the fact that countries like the Netherlands frequently have arranged their affairs more satisfactorily than many of the great powers.

This book contains twenty-seven chapters which in encyclopaedic fashion present the whole of Dutch activity—past and present, political, economic, religious, philosophic, artistic, and colonial. The scope of the undertaking, executed in a scant 464 pages, precludes fullness, which occasionally makes it difficult for the authors to state complicated points clearly. In general,

however, the reader will be thankful for the outline of many topics on which he usually can find no information elsewhere. Considering the severe limits within which the writers present their topics, the work is well done.

But these limitations at times interfere with presenting adequately some of the remarkable aspects of Netherlands culture. Thus the story of the dikes and polders, extensively in existence by the close of the Middle Ages, receives only the scantiest notice. In a subject so involved as religion and philosophy (Chapter XII, in only twenty pages) this condensation precludes the clear statement of much that is involved in the various schools of thought. Thus the theology of the Groningen School of a century ago is described as "evangelical," inspired in part at least by Lessing and Schleiermacher (p. 221). Then the involved religious issues in which these men had a part are presented unintelligibly (p. 75). It is true that the *Reveil* broke with the simple rationalism of the previous century. Under the leadership of Bilderdijk, Da Costa, and Capadose, it stimulated preachers like A. C. Van Raalte and H. P. Scholte who subsequently founded the Dutch colonies in Michigan and Iowa. But all these men were in favor of the Calvinistic confession as set forth by the Heidelberg Catechism and the Synod of Dordrecht, and not against this rigorous theology. While they *were* in revolt, they were *not* liberals. The "evangelical" teaching of the Groningen School, a liberal tendency, readily found lodgement in the state-directed Reformed Church. De Cock (whose name on page 76 is spelled De Cocq), Brummelkamp, Van Raalte, and Scholte, together with their followers refused to accept this unorthodox (*i. e.*, from the Calvinistic standpoint) teaching. The government sought to prevent them from seceding to form a new church by imprisoning ministers, fining congregations, and quartering soldiers upon families "to keep the peace." To make this point clear would require much more space, especially because the facts run counter to the old thesis that tolerance is peculiarly the possession of the liberals. It would be grossly unfair, however, to give the impression that such is the character of the entire book which, despite its cramped character, will prove a useful handbook of information.

HENRY S. LUCAS

University of Washington

The Contribution of Holland to the Sciences. Edited by A. J. BARNOUW and B. LANDHEER. (New York: Querido, Inc. 1943. Pp. xviii, 373. $3.50.)

The Lion Rampant: The Story of Holland's Resistance to the Nazis. By L. DE JONG and JOSEPH W. F. STOPPELMAN. (New York: Querido, Inc. 1943. Pp. vii, 386. $3.00.)

Nineteen Dutch scholars have attempted to explain in twenty chapters of the volume edited by Barnouw and Landheer what the Dutch have contributed to the development of the sciences in our modern age. Hasty

editorial supervision has unfortunately reduced the potential value of these chapters or articles. The reader cannot help wondering why painting has been included among the sciences, and why in the first division, which covers the "humanities and social sciences," a chapter appears dealing with "art" and another with "musicology," while in the second part, devoted to the "exact sciences and architecture," one of the arts has been separated from the others. It is not fashionable to consider painting as a science, nor is it clear why physics is more "exact" than philology or international law.

The first chapter is, on the whole, the poorest in the whole book, for it deals with theology and pays no attention to the Golden Age (1580-1700) of the Dutch people. Perhaps the author, being a Unitarian, could see little that was useful in the works of the famous professors at Leyden and Utrecht who in their day attracted many students from England and other countries. Several insignificant theologians of the nineteenth century are mentioned, but we are told that there was no space available for the Catholics nor for the Jews.

In the second chapter we are informed that the Dutch have contributed little to philosophy, but the chapter had to have something useful in it, for which reason we hear about the religious works by Coornhert and Grotius, who were not interested in philosophy but wrote much about theology. Even Erasmus receives much attention, although he "had no great opinion of religious dogmas." His famous book, *The Praise of Folly*, is mentioned to show that the Dutch revealed a sceptical reaction to speculative philosophy. In other words, Erasmus does not belong in this chapter. We also learn with some surprise that at Leyden the professors were not limited to Calvinistic interpretations of theology or philosophy, but that at Franeker they all had to support Calvinism.

The chapters dealing with philology and oriental studies are excellent, and those on historiography, the arts, and the real sciences are useful, although not by any means free from error and faulty organization.

Mr. L. de Jong, who used to be a staff member of a newspaper in Amsterdam, escaped to London after the German invasion of the Netherlands. He published there a book in Dutch entitled, *Je Maintaindrai* (the motto of the House of Orange-Nassau). It was translated into English by Stoppelman, another journalist who is now the chief of the press department maintained in New York by the Netherlands Information Bureau. Stoppelman brought the work up to date, with the result that we may well consider it the first complete and concise story of the Dutch people under Nazi domination from May 10, 1940, to the latter half of 1943.

Such a book will be of great value to those of us who are interested in determining the guilt of the Nazi leaders. We note first of all that at the very moment when the Dutch army was about to capitulate, the heart of Rotterdam was blasted into rubble by fifty-four Stukas. That more than

30,000 innocent and defenseless persons were thus slaughtered wantonly, caused no feeling of shame in the minds of the pagan brutes from Germany. "In five days the struggle which had been expected to last five months had come to its end." Six thousand fifth columnists were now set free; only ten of them had been killed by their generous compatriots, who had been shamefully betrayed by them. How different was the method of punishment meted out by the Nazis!

The short and unequal fight of the Dutch nation against the treacherous enemy had suddenly ended in a debacle. Easy and simple had been the physical occupation. But how could that other conquest be achieved, the struggle against the soul of man, against the invisible forces that stand guard over the Christian homes and peoples? We read how the invaders began their insipid propaganda work, trying to distort Dutch history in order that the misguided Hollanders might return to the old and benignant fatherland. The Nazis had not reckoned with the resistance of the church leaders; they knew nothing about the realms of the spirit. The thrilling story told so fascinatingly by the two intrepid Dutch journalists reveals the almost incredible thirst for blood, the insane impulse to torture and to steal, and the "unbearable stench of Nazi putrefaction" which inspired the henchmen of the Beast to ruin the most beneficent friend that Germany has ever had.

ALBERT HYMA

University of Michigan

The Road to Teheran. The Story of Russia and America, 1781-1943. By FOSTER RHEA DULLES, Professor of American History, Ohio State University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 279. $2.50.)

During the last two years a regular avalanche of books dealing with Russia has descended upon the American public, but most of them have dealt with contemporary events. The long-felt gap in our historical literature of a complete study of Russian-American relations has remained unfilled. Professor Dulles, who had a distinguished journalistic career before devoting himself to the teaching and writing of history, has now attempted to fill this gap. But the task of covering the events of more than a century and a half in less than 300 pages apparently proved too much for the historian and so the historian turned journalist.

In a fluent, readable style Professor Dulles tells the story of Russian-American relations from the first unsuccessful mission of Francis Dana to the court of Catherine the Great to the eventful meeting in the capital of Iran. It is fairly obvious that in such a treatment a great deal of pertinent material must be overlooked or ignored, but it is surprising that Professor Dulles, after treating fairly extensively the episode of the coming

of the Russian fleet during the Civil War, fails to mention American help to Russia during the crisis of 1878, when Russia, under the protection of American diplomacy, was building and equipping cruisers in American ports to be used against England. This is a greater omission than at first it appears, because in Russian-American relations, which had been friendly throughout the nineteenth century, there were few instances of dramatic value and the episode of 1878 was certainly one of these. On the whole, however, America's relations with imperial Russia are covered impartially and well.

When Professor Dulles tackles the Soviet period, he falls victim to his own thesis that Russian-American relations not only have been but should be of the friendliest, regardless of Russia's form of government. Here he treads on uncertain ground, overlooking the fact that sovietism (or bolshevism, as it was formerly called) is not merely a form of government but a creed, an ideology which tends to spread beyond the geographical borders of Russia. It seems that the author, like so many contemporaries, is swayed by the emotionalism of the war when he foresees close collaboration between the people of America under a "capitalistic" system and the people of Russia pursuing "socialism." He forgets that "the Soviet Union, as everybody who has the courage to face the facts knows, is run by a dictatorship as absolute as any dictatorship in the world," although he quotes these words of President Roosevelt (p. 222). He also forgets Senator La Follette's prediction, after the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany, that the communist purges, Soviet confiscation of property and persecution of religion, the invasion of Finland, the violation of the independence of the Baltic States, and the seizure of half of prostrate Poland would be made "to seem the acts of a 'democracy' preparing to fight Nazism," although he quotes it critically (p. 232). Actually Professor Dulles is doing what Senator LaFollette warned us against.

Limitation of space does not permit the reviewer to mention more of the questionable or inaccurate statements in this book, but when the author explains American recognition of Soviet Russia in the following words—"Obviously international contacts with Soviet Russia could not be avoided when all the rest of the world had recognized its government" (p. 182)—he falls far off the mark. In 1933 ten European countries—Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal, Rumania, Spain (recognition extended by telegram on July 28 of that year), Switzerland, Yugoslavia—and all of the Latin and Central American States (with the exception of Uruguay) had no official relations with Soviet Russia.

Although the book is supplied with a limited bibliography and an index, it will not satisfy the scholar and may well mislead the layman. The story of Russian-American relations is still to be written.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

Harvard University

AMERICAN HISTORY

American History in Schools and Colleges. The Report of the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, Edgar B. Wesley, Director of the Committee. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. xiv, 148. $1.25.)

Any "organized effort to restate the fundamental problems in the teaching of American history," such as this report by the committee of two historical associations proposes, would have great interest and immediate importance in a time when the American people are searching their past for inspiration and guidance. It is this timeliness that makes the calm tone of the report, its rejection of sensationalism, its concentration on the evidence, and the effort to place that evidence in full perspective, the more remarkable and valuable.

The discussion of the effectiveness of the present teaching of history, by other voices, for instance, might easily have turned into wholesale condemnations and loud cries for legislative action. The committee preferred to look for the facts, sampling present teaching by means of a specially prepared test given to a number of high school students, and to other groups. The results are disheartening enough, but the committee refuses to accept any gloomy interpretation, and urges both patience and realism.

Similarly, on the basis of a survey of legal and departmental requirements, and of existing curricula, the committee concludes that the number of courses in American history now being required and offered is sufficient, and suggests, with detailed recommendations, that the improvement of the general knowledge of our history depends, not on increased legal requirements, but on a reorganization of present courses and on better teaching.

The wisdom of the committee, and its caution, are perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in its recognition of the extent to which the average American has learned, and is learning, American history outside the classroom. However, the lack of more explicit criticism of the quality of the "history" taught by the motion pictures, the novels, and the press, seems in rather strange contrast to the harsh justice meted out to the lazy, the dull, and the ill-prepared within the profession of history teachers.

Such criticism in detail of evidence and of conclusions there will be, and some at least of the statistical material may need further explanation and investigation before its significance is clear, but the main task of re-stating the problems and outlining solutions the committee has accomplished in a fashion which merits not only praise, but the more solid reward of thought, fuller discussion, and action.

GEORGE J. FLEMING, JR.

Xavier University
Cincinnati

Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860. By ALICE FELT TYLER. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1944. Pp. x, 608. $5.00.)

The thing that strikes one most all through this book is Mrs. Tyler's fairness. Many of the people exhibited are decidedly queer, others are equally quaint. A wonderful opportunity for being funny must often have presented itself. But even when repeating Captain Marryat's story of the frontier preacher who addressed his prayer to "Almighty and diabolical God," Mrs. Tyler does so with a perfectly straight face and without any comment. Her moderation is so extreme that at times it becomes amusing, as when she writes of Joseph Smith and the Mormon revelation: "The authenticity of the golden plates is of vital importance of course, for if they were part of an elaborate hoax, there is no valid basis for the Mormon church." Yet although Mrs. Tyler has suffered from the restrictions she has put upon herself, there can be no doubt that upon the whole she has done well never to yield to what must always have been well-nigh irresistible temptations. Especially may Catholics be grateful to her for the justice of her comments upon themselves. In this collection of freaks they do not appear very often—and then only as the victims of freaks. When they do appear they are treated handsomely. Mrs. Tyler, however, seems to deny that the eccentric movements and persons depicted by her were eccentric at all. As her title suggests, and as she explicitly says, everything may be explained on the ground of the American belief in perfectibility. Being politically free, Americans were to be intellectually free as well; and no intellectual vagary came amiss. That there is something in this need not be denied, although it might be pointed out that the concept of perfectibility was derived from Europe and that many of those who sought to attain it in America were Europeans. Most of the early communist communities were German. Eric Janson was a Swede, Etienne Cabet a Frenchman. And of the more famous utopians Robert Owen and his son were Welsh, Fanny Wright a Scott, and Mother Lee, the founder of the American Shakers, was English. The most that can really be said is that these enthusiasts perceived that in American soil they could best plant their seed and that, once planted here, it took on an American character. For although England has long been fertile in the production of nonconformists, in that country the brakes of social tradition and the established church have usually kept even the wildest nonconformity relatively staid. Mormonism, for example, largely recruited itself in its early stages in England, yet never succeeded in getting much foothold there.

The ground is covered so well that this book might almost be described as an encyclopedia of eccentric enthusiasms. We get here an account of the orgiastic revivalism of the frontier; of the millennial faith of Miller

which blew up in 1844, when the world did not, but which still persists more widely than Mrs. Tyler seems to know; of utopianism in both its religious and atheistic forms; and especially of the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Owenites. It is a pity that the scope of the work was not extended to include that most successful of all American indigenous religions, Christian Science. But it stops short at 1860 and Mrs. Eddy's *Science and Health* was not published until 1875. It was, of course, the culmination of Transcendentalism and New Thought, the complementary system being that of the Latter Day Saints. Although none of these movements could be gone into exhaustively even in so large a volume, no book contains so complete a survey of its special field. It might have been better, however, had Mrs. Tyler used her abundant material to make two books instead of one, for the second half, which is about humanitarian crusades, is only very loosely tacked on to the first.

It was inevitable that in a study so rich in detail a few errors should occur. Those the reviewer has noticed are not particularly important. It hardly matters in this connection that Mrs. Tyler shows that she does not know what a limerick is (p. 29), and only a little more than she misspells the name of Jared Sparks (p. 27), and calls Charles Carroll the brother of the archbishop (p. 359). Nor can Edith O'Gorman's *Convent Life Unveiled* have appeared during the period under consideration, for the reviewer heard this "escaped" nun lecture in London in 1907 or 1908. The reference to the "Shekirah" is probably due to the fact that it comes from a quotation in another book which in turn quotes from a third; nevertheless Mrs. Tyler should have heard of the Shekinah. But these things after all are of slight consequence. There can be no doubt that *Freedom's Ferment* is an excellent survey of the more curious manifestations of American idealism.

THEODORE MAYNARD

Westminster, Maryland

The Prohibition Movement in Alabama, 1702 to 1943. By JAMES BENSON SELLERS, Department of History, University of Alabama. [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXVI. No. 1]. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1943. Pp. vii, 325. $1.25.)

In this volume Mr. Sellers has presented a long-range view of the conflicting forces that produced prohibition in the state of Alabama and then abolished this "noble experiment." The shift from a temperance movement during the three decades before the Civil War to a crusading prohibition movement after the war, marked a distinct decline in the spirit of tolerance and the regard for personal liberty within the South. The decline

of the temperance movement in Alabama after 1855 is attributed by the author largely to the entrance of the Sons of Temperance into politics, where they miserably failed. After the Civil War the desire to keep liquor from the Negro, who had not been allowed to buy liquor during slavery days, operated to favor a prohibition movement. Furthermore, powerful national organizations, such as the Anti-Saloon League and the W.C.T.U., brought strong pressure to bear on politicians to support the cause. In the decade of the 1880's the Catholic Total Abstinence Union was founded in Alabama, but in general the Catholic Church, as well as the aristocratic Episcopalians and the Primitive Baptists, did not take a prominent part in the prohibition movement. The driving force behind this movement in Alabama was the ministers and religious press of the Baptist and Methodist Churches. After an unsuccessful experience with a state dispensary system, a county local option law was passed by the legislature in 1907. An attempt to pass a constitutional amendment establishing state-wide prohibition, however, was defeated two years later, and Alabama did not enter the dry column until 1915.

When World War I ended, the state enthusiastically adopted the eighteenth amendment, forgetting for a while its devotion to state rights. In 1928 after Al Smith, "a wet," had been nominated for President by the Democratic National Convention, there was a strong movement in Alabama to vote for the Republican candidate, Herbert Hoover, a prohibitionist, but ultimately Smith carried the state by the "narrowest margin since the days of Reconstruction." It has been assumed that Al Smith's Catholicism was a major cause why so many southern Democrats refused to vote for him. But this reviewer believes that Neo-Puritanism, which was deeply entrenched among the predominantly rural population of the South, was a decisive factor in the break-up of "the solid South." Although Smith's proposal of returning the control of the liquor problem to the states was later adopted by Alabama in voting for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, the state remained "dry" until 1937 when state liquor stores were established in counties voting "wet." The author is guilty of some over-simplifications, such as his statements that the reason why the Duponts took an active part in the repeal of the prohibition amendment was their desire to lighten the federal income tax, and that Smith and Roosevelt broke their political friendship on account of a disagreement over the liquor issue in politics. Nevertheless, Mr. Sellers has written a sound and well-articulated narrative of the whole movement of regulating the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the state of Alabama.

CLEMENT EATON

Lafayette College

British West Florida, 1763-1783. By CECIL JOHNSON. [Yale Historical Publications, Volume XLII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 258. $3.00.)

Within the limits of 260 pages, Dr. Johnson has given a smooth and readable history of the British rule in West Florida. West Florida was one of the twenty-odd British colonies in the New World which did not rise in rebellion with the original thirteen that made up the first United States. While American historians have been busy with the story of the latter, they have slighted the others, some of which like West Florida and East Florida had fairly close connections with the revolting thirteen. This book is an effort to round out the story of the British in a forgotten colony of those days.

Minute bits of information gathered from secondary sources and more particularly, from dry-as-dust documents of the British Board of Trade, of the Secretary of State, as well as council minutes, journals of assembly laws, land grants, court records and other legal papers have been fused into a well-rounded, complete, and compact story of the colony. The author has gone into military correspondence, into letter-books and diaries in search of all available facts, leaving little doubt as to the thoroughness of his research. Those who had to hunt drearily for the facts before Dr. Johnson published his work will best appreciate what the research cost him. And he has digested his facts well, otherwise he could not have given the balanced picture he does in nine chapters.

The background of the colony is well sketched before the author introduces the first governor, George Johnson. Then follows a close-up of the succeeding rulers. We have here a clear picture of the workings of the provincial legislature composed of the council (whose members were appointed by the crown), and the assembly (elected to office by the freeholders). This lower house had a stormy career and for the greater time it was not in session. The distribution of land and westward expansion take up Chapters V and VI. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is Chapter VII with its picture of social conditions, slavery, indenture, religion (which never seemed to flourish), trade practices, articles of trade, and methods of communication.

Dr. Johnson fails to mention the presence of any Catholic priest in the province, although we know from Spanish sources that for several years at least the French Capuchins from New Orleans tried to keep the faith alive in Mobile. The fragmentary evidence seems to indicate that the West Florida Catholics were fairly well treated and that there was a desire to help them by the officials on the scene, but the Privy Council in London frowned on the attempt. The conquest of the province, already told in Caughey's *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana*, is pictured with new details

from British sources. Incidentally, this volume brings out clearly why West Florida did not join the revolting thirteen colonies in 1776.

The last chapter is a summation of the place of West Florida in the British colonial scheme. Acquired partly to round out the British hegemony east of the Mississippi River and partly as a trading place, it failed in the first and became useless for the second purpose when the American colonies finally won their independence. England surrendered the colony to Spain by the treaty of peace that followed. The long appraisal of sources together with the good index at the end, mark the work as a competent monograph.

MICHAEL J. CURLEY

Mt. St. Alphonsus Seminary
Esopus

The Revolutionary Generation, 1763-1790. By EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, DeWitt Clinton Professor of American History Emeritus Columbia University. [*A History of American Life*, Volume IV. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox.] (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xvii, 487. $4.00.)

The ambitious project of Messrs. Schlesinger and Fox of *A History of American Life*, in twelve volumes, by specialists in the respective fields, was launched so long ago that three of the volumes appeared in 1927, two in 1929, and others in the thirties. The present volume, though belonging logically and chronologically near the head of the procession, has barely escaped bringing up the rear. Ours not to reason why. Suffice it to say that, belated though this volume be, it will receive an eager and a hearty welcome—as what book from Professor Greene's hand does not?

How the writers of other volumes of the series may have interpreted their central theme, what they wrought or how well they wrought, it is not for this reviewer to judge. His concern is with the volume before him. Approaching a book with such a theme, one is bound to ask himself, what really goes to make up what is termed the life of the Revolutionary generation? And straightway (especially if he be one of the elder watchmen on the tower) will come a reflection upon the progress of the Revolutionary pilgrims of history these four score years—more or less: a progress from the military to the political, the political to the constitutional, the constitutional to the economic, the economic to the social, the social to the cultural —to say nothing of a varied assortment of etceteras.

These, then, are some of the phases of life in the Revolutionary generation which Professor Greene sets out to explore and expound. That he should do both these things with thoroughness and with a keen understanding of significance was to be expected from his ripe scholarship; that he has done so with complete detachment is eminently gratifying. He has given

us colorful pictures of how the people of that generation lived, moved, and had their beings, whether at work, at play, at school, or at their devotions. There was politics, of course, but there was also business; there was travel of a sort, but there were also social gatherings and fireside musings; and there was eating, drinking, and being merry. If there were some phases of life, some activities of dwellers here and there, on which the author did not turn his telescope or did not deem meet to report, that is the way of all history, and more particularly of that kind of history sometimes called social. (No doubt future generations of historians will vegetate a lot of new emphases.)

The Revolution, as Professor Greene portrays it, was much more than the contest for independence; there was a prologue, and there was an epilogue. The gradual growth of American thought and feeling that finally culminated in the fixed purpose of the colonies to go their own ways Professor Greene has traced in a manner that is illuminating; and, when he comes to "the parting of the ways," no one has offered a sounder analysis. As for the epilogue, while economic recovery and constitutional progresss loom large in the picture, there is an inspiring emphasis on the expansion of intellectual and cultural horizons.

The book offers many lures to particularization, which must nevertheless be resisted. One *nota bene* only: there is a "Critical Essay on Authorities" of thirty-three pages and the abundant annotations prove that the authorities were actually used.

EDMUND C. BURNETT

Washington, D. C.

The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. By ADRIENNE KOCH. [Columbia Studies in American Culture, No. 14.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 208. $2.50.)

Miss Koch places the significance of her study in making it apparent that ideology constituted "a conscious program of action" for Thomas Jefferson. She claims to have done this by exploring the implications of his ideology in "their political, social, and philosophic expression." She negatively describes ideology "as philosophy opposed to the mysteries of scholastic, rationalistic, and idealistic metaphysics." More positively she defines it by declaring that it sets "itself a program: to consider philosophy as a natural science, devoted to the study of the one normal function, thinking and its products, ideas."

Evidence in the volume shows that Jefferson, writing John Adams on March 14, 1820, considered "the ablest living investigators of the thinking faculty of man" to be the Scotchman, Dugald Stewart, and the Frenchman, Count Destut de Tracy, to whom he joined another Frenchman, P. J. G. Cabanis. In his judgment, Cabanis "investigated anatomically and most ingenuously the particular organs in the human structure which may most probably exercise that faculty," while Stewart gave "its natural history

from facts and observations," and "Tracy its modes of action and deduction which he calls Logic and Ideology." Jefferson had already informed Adams on January 11, 1817, that Tracy comprehended his works on logic, government, politics, economics, and morality within "the circle of ideological subjects or of those which are within the scope of the understanding, and not of the senses."

This work also shows that Jefferson first became acquainted with the work of Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind*, which the author sent him October 1, 1792, from the College of Edinburgh, and in which the author based his hopes for the future progress of the philosophy of the mind on "the excellent models of this species of investigation which the writings of Dr. Reid exhibit." Next Jefferson became acquainted with the work of Cabanis, *Rapport du physique et du moral de l'homme*, of which he declared himself "warmly in favor" when writing the author July 12, 1803, and which he also recommended on July 10, 1812, to Dr. Cooper for a students' reading list as "the most profound of all human compositions." Finally Jefferson became intimately familiar with two works of Tracy: *A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws*, and *A Treatise on Political Economy*. He translated the first work in part, corrected the section for which publisher Duane arranged the translation, and practically managed the publicity for the sale of the printed book which appeared in 1811 at Philadelphia. He also worked on the translation of the second work which Tracy sent him in 1811, but he was unable to see it through the press until 1818, although it was published in Georgetown, D. C., a year earlier. He wrote publisher Milligan: "It goes forth with my hearty prayers that while the Review of Montesquieu by the same author is made with us the elementary book of instruction in the principles of civil government, so the present work may be in the particular branch of political economy."

This careful chronology saves us from pushing too much into the background the influence of Locke, Sidney, et al., on Jefferson's earlier development as Miss Koch does in her book. However, she is right in not having a word for any influence of Bellarmine upon the Declaration of Independence in view of Jefferson's anti-Catholic and particularly anti-Jesuit bias. Nothing of this enters into Miss Koch's work.

FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN

Rochester, New York

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volume XI. *The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943. Pp. vii, 1372. $3.25.)

The Ralston Act of 1925 set in motion a project long desired of making available those sources in the departments in Washington bearing on almost two-thirds of the states of the Union. Ten volumes of the *Territorial*

Papers of the United States have been published to date, and the present continues the papers of Michigan Territory.

Among the governors of Michigan during its thirty-one years as a territory, Lewis Cass ranks first both in length of service and in the furtherance of the true interests of Michigan. The nine years of his administration covered in this volume center around the Indian problem, public lands, roads, the mail, and definite movements toward self-government. There was no possibility of opening the lower peninsula to settlers prior to the extinguishing of the Indian claims. The difficulties connected with this were many and fully understood, as the documents indicate, only by those who had to carry on the negotiations. The disaffection of Michigan Indians appears in the recurring request of the governor for more and better-manned forts along the border.

One meets the surveyor at every turn. Millions of acres of land were surveyed and county limits set before the great tide of emigrants moved westward along the newly-opened Erie Canal and the roads that carried them into the interior. Petitions for yet more roads and, later for canals, reflect the national scene. The mail was the settlers' bond with the world outside; its proper transportation was no simple thing as the many documents on the subject make clear.

The election of the territorial delegate was the important event in territorial politics and the voters made the most of it. The sixty-page report of the contested election of 1825, photolithographed for this volume, and the numerous additional documents bear out this fact. The Act of Congress in 1823 abrogated the governmental set-up that had prevailed under the rule of the governor and judges. The change marked a long step forward.

The encouragement of education in the territory took the form of land grants. Faint gleams of future trouble concerning Michigan's boundary line and the fugitive slave problem appear. Flashes on the life of the people come in proclamation and petition, in cultural aspiration and community social problems. Inseparable from these movements were the men who pushed on with them or became storm centers of opposition. The clash that eventually carried all forward was history in the making. This volume, containing the record of these men and movements, pulses with human drama, tragedy, and comedy alike.

The excellent index of 127 pages incorporating a new source of information, and the footnotes, citing additional sources, add to the value of the volume. Variation in the paper is only another index of war conditions.

Clearly the book is oversize; it would seem better had the last section been reserved for the next volume of the series. Repetitive documents differing only in date are sometimes printed entire; one instance is a full page proclamation which recurs ten times. These are, however, minutiae in a work of real worth.

SISTER M. ROSALITA KELLY

Marygrove College
Detroit

David Dale Owen: Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West. By WALTER BROOKFIELD HENDRICKSON. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1943. Pp. xiii, 180. $2.00.)

The name of Owen needs no introduction to the historical student. But because the entire Owen family was so well known, the individual's personality is generally submerged. Too, the more famous Robert and Robert Dale are sometimes singled out to the exclusion of the rest.

Professor Hendrickson of MacMurray College, has written a brief, concise biography of one of the lesser-known brothers, David Dale, " to rescue him from an undeserved obscurity and to give him his rightful place in the history of science." Owen was the first state geologist of Indiana. He also completed surveys for Kentucky and Arkansas, as well as several for the national government. One of these latter was of a territory comprising an area of 11,000 square miles in Iowa, Wisconsin, and northern Illinois. Concerning this one it has been said that his " organization and carrying out of the plan . . . within the short space of time and under the conditions imposed . . . was a feat of generalship which has never been equalled in American geological history." Another service for the national government was the great Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota survey for the United States Land Office.

The author points out that it cannot be said that Owen was one of America's great scientists, but that nevertheless he did make important and unique contributions to a knowledge and understanding of American geology, especially in the Mississippi Valley. His eleven volumes of reports on national and state surveys attested not only his ability to set forth his findings clearly after an exhaustive and arduous time in the wild uncharted Northwest, but also were models for other geologists to follow. Professor Hendrickson states that Owen's reports of what he saw were highly accurate. In his day Owen was accepted as an authority in the middle western field, and even in England he came to be regarded as an authority on the geology of the Middle West.

This book should be welcomed by geologists as well as by historians. It is well written, with a clear style, and is not too scientific to be beyond the reach of the ordinary reader. Perhaps it could have contained more material on the family life, the human side of the subject. A good bibliography and index add to its value.

J. HERMAN SCHAUINGER

Gannon College
Erie

The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860. By MAX BERGER, Ph.D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 239. $3.00.)

Men are ever interested in knowing what other people think of them, in knowing what reputation they possess with their fellow men, and in

knowing what impression they have made upon their neighbor. In this volume Max Berger seeks to give us what the Englishman thought of America a century ago. The book, a compilation of two hundred and thirty published accounts of the Britons who visited the United States between 1836 and 1860, contains a detailed synthesis of these narratives and a critical analysis of the British impressions.

After a succinct introduction, the reader is provided "with sufficient data concerning the traveller . . . to furnish an adequate background and perspective for his observations and conclusions." Who was the traveller? Mr. Berger tells us that between the visit of Harriet Martineau and that of the Prince of Wales "there passed in kaleidoscopic array, authors, journalists, lecturers, scientists, businessmen, clergymen, soldiers, politicians, artists, promoters, actors, songwriters, and sportmen—to mention but a few". These were chiefly Englishmen "who came to America as emigrants, only to return to their homeland, unsuccessful, but anxious to capitalize on their experiences by publishing advice for others". The traveller found America to be "a New Order, a social system at variance with the established customs of the Old World," a land where his wildest curiosity could be satisfied and a new country rapidly developing its own culture.

Prefaced by "The Traveller" and "The Face of America," *The British Traveller in America* is developed in six chapters under the headings of Custom and Character, Democratic Government, Slavery, Religion, Education, and Emigration. Since almost every conceivable aspect of American life came under the scrutiny of the traveller, the author has wisely limited his treatment to these headings, for "such matters as democratic government, slavery, manners and custom, national character, the voluntary support of religion, popular education and emigration prospects," were the topics of paramount interest to both the Englishman and the American. To treat topics other than these salient aspects would produce a lengthy and a too-detailed book for most readers.

The work is well buttressed by documentary evidence and additional cross references in the footnotes. When the author considers it necessary, he analyzes the traveller's impressions and then comments on the objectivity of his impression. This is often the case, particularly in the chapters on religion, education, and slavery, for the traveller's accounts, far from being models of impartiality and scientific objectivity, are reflections of "the interests, the biases, the preconceptions, and the viewpoints of their authors". Dr. Berger phrases this fact well when he writes that, "the traveller saw new scenes, but through his old spectacles."

These considerations are concluded with a chapter wherein there is summed up the value of the traveller's journey through America. In most cases, the Englishman returned home with greater respect for the American people and with the firm conviction that America's "chief advantage lay in

the wide diffusion of material well-being among her people and the comparative absence of poverty and want."

The work closes with a critical bibliography, which is one of the outstanding features of the book, and a good index. The bibliography is an excellent example of historical criticism; and it is, as the author states, the most complete bibliography that has appeared on the subject. It sets forth a wealth of source material for future study and reference.

The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860, as a sequel to Jane L. Mesick's *English Traveller in America, 1785-1835*, is another example of the contribution that Columbia University, through its studies in history, is making to the field of historical literature. This book is an important contribution, for the travel book "furnishes us with a source for data not elsewhere obtainable. Things too commonplace for a native to mention often appear sufficiently bizarre to the stranger to merit notation and investigation," and thus "new light may be cast upon a subject otherwise hackneyed." Such a work is useful not only to "provide an additional check upon native viewpoints and prejudices, but often expose those held by the visitor as well." Dr. Berger might have been a little more critical of the British views on Nativism and the emigration of the Irish, but he cautions us in his bibliographical note that these two sections only "aim . . . to provide a general background, and to serve as a guide for further study." This he has achieved. The book reads like a novel and its neat and compact format, which characterizes the publications of the Columbia University Press, adds an additional feature to the work.

WILLIAM J. FLETCHER

St. Mary's Seminary
Roland Park

Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy. By CHARLES W. RAMSDELL. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. xxi, 136. $2.00.)

The Plain People of the Confederacy. By BELL IRWIN WILEY. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 104. $1.50.)

These two volumes are from the Fleming Lecture Series of the Louisiana State University. It is regrettable that the two authors were not able to collaborate on a fuller treatment of their common topic. A composite work would have been not only an exceptional contribution to Confederate historiography, but a work of great value for the study of that neglected feature of all war—the effect on the people at home.

Behind the Lines is from the posthumous papers of the author and printed as a memorial to him. Of the two books it is the superior. It is a fuller and deeper study. Mr. Ramsdell takes up numerous problems that faced the Confederacy: finance, basis for money, inflation; inability to import and export; inferiority of the system and management of transporta-

tion; shortage of manpower, impossibility of self support, industrial weakness, malingering, profiteering, draft dodging, and everything that made for a complete breakdown of morale and living conditions. Much of the matter exposed in this study, and its companion, will not be pleasant to those who see the southern forces as one glorious rallying against a fanatical and all-powerful enemy. But the material evidence is too great to deny. A casual reading is enough to show that where patriotism competes with greed, fear, and desperation, it is not unknown that patriotism may come off second best.

The accumulation of problems collateral to the war is what overwhelmed the Confederate government, as they would have overwhelmed any government. Total war—and the war of 1861 was a total war—can only be conducted by a strong, centralized government—and the Confederate government was far from that. The individual states tried to handle the problems of war and only gradually yielded to the idea of a government that had to do with social problems and did not exist merely to maintain order and protect property. But the Confederacy had no experience and no precedent to follow and it had no time to experiment. It is no wonder that it failed, but not to its shame, because it never faltered in its efforts especially in its topmost purpose—military success.

Plain People deals with the same matter as that of *Behind the Lines* and gives the same revelations of the internal problems of the Confederate states. If these two books overlap they on the other hand never contradict. They are mutually related and should be read together. There is less of the classroom lecture about Mr. Wiley's book. In fact, we find quite a little of the humorous. Unfortunately, neither volume contains any citations to authorities, index, or bibliography.

RICHARD C. MADDEN

St. Mary's Rectory
Georgetown, South Carolina

Cornell University: Founders and the Founding. By CARL L. BECKER. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 240. $2.75.)

This volume is a series of six lectures of the Messenger Foundation delivered by Professor Becker in 1943, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the opening of the University. The first two lectures review the complexion of higher learning in the United States prior to the establishment of Cornell, and the history of the enactment of the Morrill Land Grant College Act. The remaining four lectures describe the circumstances of the incorporation and opening of the University and the part played by Ezra Cornell and Andrew D. White, co-founders. Included also is the commemorative address of Professor Becker on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the signing of the charter.

The lectures make delightful reading and are typical of Dr. Becker's power of realistic interpretation and his fine sense of humor in presenting

personalities of the past. In "Life and Learning in the United States" the writer sees American higher education as slowly evolving from its subordination to political ends in the early colonial period toward a marriage of convenience with the political philosophy of the eighteenth century to finally emerge in the latter part of the nineteenth century in the form of a liberal and democratic university promoting human learning as well as guaranteeing its preservation and transmission. Among the diverse influences inspiring this ultimate transformation were the impetus upon research from German and French universities, American utilitarianism, and opposition to the then-prevailing aristocratic character of higher education. Professor Becker finds little of worth in "the lost cause" of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century education that sought merely "to preserve and transmit rather than to increase knowledge." Narrow though it was in content and method, the author might have paid at least a parting tribute to the educational heritage that gave embryonic America a leadership of disciplined minds and a sound respect for the fundamental values of religion and morality in social living.

The remaining lectures hold interest for the new light brought to the origin of the Morrill Act, more of "a land grant grab act than a college act," for the graphic character studies of Ezra Cornell and Andrew D. White, the latter's concept of a university, and the log-rolling and "intercollegiate blackmail" in the state legislature that prefaced the incorporation of the University. The work contains in addition to the lectures fifteen hitherto unpublished documents relating to the University establishment and its co-founders. The correspondence of Cornell and his financial associates cast some amusing sidelights on the history of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The historian of higher education will be interested in the intimate letter of Andrew D. White to G. L. Burr and Ernest Huffcutt, setting forth White's claim to certain pioneering ventures such as the introduction of alumni as trustees and a Department of Electrical Engineering.

An excellent descriptive bibliography of Cornell University of both published and unpublished sources has been incorporated and the lectures are richly documented.

CHARLES J. MAHONEY

Rochester, New York

American Freethought, 1860-1914. By SIDNEY WARREN with an Introduction by Allan Nevins. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 504.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 257. $3.25.)

This volume is a scholarly, highly dispassionate, and in the main a satisfactory treatment of its subject, a worthy sequel to several monographs of recent years on the earlier history of the freethought movement in the United States. The author finds that in the years under review free-

thinkers were of three types: free religionists (spiritual descendants of eighteenth century Deists), agnostics, and atheists, to each of which he devotes a chapter. Inasmuch as the work is concerned primarily with "organizational" freethinkers, considerable space is assigned to lecturing, journalism, and organizations, particularly to the Free Religious Association and the National Liberal League (the American Secular Union after 1884). Dr. Warren is at his best in handling these skeletal details of the subject. This judgment does not imply that he is inattentive to the climate of opinion—religious, intellectual, and social—which affected the course of organized freethought at almost every stage of its progress.

Although the author sustains a lively interest in his story, he is careful not to exaggerate its importance. As compared with the huge accessions to the membership of the Christian churches, the number of recruits to organized freethought was trivial and insignificant—and this in spite of the scientific impulse to secular outlooks afforded by the new theory of Darwinian evolution. For if the people became more secular in their thinking, they did not because of that fact "become indifferent to basic religious faith" (p. 229). Thus freethinkers misread the signs of the times. They also lacked proper perspective: they concentrated upon "an exaggerated theological oppressiveness" at a time when "the forces of mundane rapaciousness needed to be checked" (p. 229).

True enough. Nevertheless, in the reviewer's opinion, freethinkers were more interested in social reform than Dr. Warren thinks. He does indicate that they voiced divergent opinions on monopoly in industry, the labor problem, the Negro question, and women's suffrage. He also points out that Ingersoll favored birth control of the Neo-Malthusian variety. Did other freethinkers agree with Ingersoll?—an interesting question in view of the fact that English freethinkers were intense propagandists of Neo-Malthusianism. Does the author fully realize that the impact of social reform on nearly all intellectual and religious systems was unusually powerful during the years of his study? Why, for example, is there no mention of the fine social service of Dr. Felix Adler and the societies for ethical culture? Did not freethinkers like Hugh O. Pentecost help to propagate philosophical anarchism? Were only Christians and Jews concerned with social settlements and related philanthropies? These and other pertinent questions are not asked.

The affiliations between freethought and socialism, however, are admirably explained. But the extended discussion of Christian socialism ought to have been omitted because the Christian socialists were interested in the economics, not in the freethinking, of the socialist movement. Though socially-minded and unconventional in some of their religious views, the Christian socialists for the most part were orthodox or "progressive orthodox" Christians.

AARON I. ABELL

Nazareth College
Rochester

Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Professor of American Diplomatic History, Fordham University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States—A Series of Studies Prepared Under the Direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Division of Economics and History. James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 507. $3.50.)

The plans for the extraordinarily successful Canadian-American Historical Series, sponsored and assisted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, called for a series of studies in diplomatic history, amidst the numerous other volumes on the social, economic, and cultural interrelationship of the United States and Canada. Professor Tansill's book fills in the gap between the late Lester B. Shippee's *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911,* and L. Ethan Ellis' *Reciprocity, 1911.*

Professor Tansill deals with his period by setting forth, with abundance of erudition and detail—indeed a superabundance of detail—the history of four famous controversies or issues: the North Atlantic fisheries (four chapters), the Alaskan boundary controversy (five chapters), the fur-seals controversy (three chapters), the issue of commercial union or reciprocity (two chapters). The volume thus is built by topical blocks rather than by synthetic and chronological structure. Dr. Shotwell, the general editor of the series, explains that the theme seems to lend itself best to such construction. For each one of the four subjects covered there is a rich summary stretching far back beyond 1875, with a plethora of bibliographical citations. Professor Tansill has already dealt with three of these four topics in the course of his monumental work on the *Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1887* (New York, 1940), and in a way the present volume consists of five Canadian-American blocks from the Bayard tree-trunk, blocks elaborated with more details and elongated, as it were, through a more extended period. In the preparation of the volume the author exploited not only the public archives of Canada and of the United States, including Department of State papers, but also the papers of statesmen and their political personalities for this period, now preserved in the Library of Congress and in the Canada Archives, sixteen big collections of this kind, to be precise, in the Library of Congress alone. The documentation is prodigal, the details profuse, the work thoroughly objective. It is not likely that any great amount of new matter will be added for a long time to Mr. Tansill's book, and in that sense it is definitive. Later writers will use this erudition as their own interpretations may suggest. In treating commercial union and reciprocity the author deals only incidentally with annexation sentiment, really a spectacular phenomenon in the years under review, and somewhat subordinated here. Some subscribers to this *Review* might desire more explanation of the role played by French Can-

adians and their faith in the development of Canadian-American relations.

The thirty-odd volumes of this series, to which Professor Tansill's book is such a powerful contribution, present a mass of detail for the general historian. In the words of the general editor, they "furnish the warp and woof to be woven into the rich design of North American history." What we now need is one master volume on Canadian-American relations, based on this series. Without it the larger public usefulness of the great enterprise will be minimized. With it the full force of this project of international co-operative scholarship will have a long and lasting effect on the peace of North America and of the world.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

Yale University

IBERO-AMERICAN HISTORY

Mission Monuments of New Mexico. By EDGAR L. HEWETT and REGINALD FISHER. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1943. Pp. 270. $4.00.)

This attractive volume is the fifth in the series entitled Handbooks of Archaeological History edited by Dr. Hewett. A personal, semi-popular presentation of the history of the New Mexico missions, it adds nothing new by way of factual information, with the exception of the interesting biographical appendices, and some of the material on the Archaic Group of missions. The book has value primarly in that it is written in readable, popular style, with broad sympathy and understanding, and in general presents a correct evaluation of the contribution of the Franciscan friars in New Mexico. The volume, like most of the writings of Dr. Hewett, is obviously a labor of love, and one finds here the fascinating experience of rummaging through disorganized but interesting notes and comments about the life of St. Francis of Assisi, the steps in the expansion of Franciscan activities from Assisi to Santa Fe, and the mission story in New Mexico, with a detailed discusson of the missions of the Archaic Group (Pecos, Abó, Quarái, Gran Quivira, Jémez, and A'coma).

The work has value for the many illustrations alone. Unfortunately, this attractive book is replete with minor errors in dates, places, and factual details, and the discussion of the Reconquest period is especially weak. It would require several pages to list these errors. The bibliography is an unhappy miscellaneous listing of thirty-five items neither comprehensive in scope nor representative in selection. The publisher's comments about another recent volume written by Dr. Hewett, entitled *Campfire and Trail*, may well be applied to the present one: "By a thousand and one campfires he jotted down philosophic reflections in his diary and pondered

deeply the meaning and purpose of life. From these voluminous notes he has wrought a small volume, rich in the accumulated treasures made by a discerning mind over a life's span."

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Loyola Unversity
Chicago

Invincible Jaén. Part II. By LUIS ANTONIO EGUIGURÉN. (Lima: 1943. Pp. 829.)

To endeavor to write a brief review of a volume of over eight hundred pages is in itself something that would reflect on the foolhardiness of the individual making the attempt. Furthermore, here is a volume which, according to the author, is Part II of *notes* on the territorial question between Peru and Ecuador (Part I was reviewed in this journal, XXIX, April, 1943.) Part I the reviewer received in the Spanish; these pages are presented in English, and in poor English at that. There is a persistent use of archaic words, words which resemble the Spanish but do not exist in current English as e. g., " incommunication, profanated ". There are many punctuation errors and the spelling is frequently faulty, although this may be due to the printer.

Dr. Eguigurén is well known as a Peruvian statesman, patriot, publisher, and scholar. He has served as mayor of Lima and president of the Congress. His election to the national presidency in 1936 was outlawed by the dictator Benavides, but his work, *El Usurpador,* (1939), treating of Peru's stormy history between 1930-1939, took care of Benavides.

From beginning to end this work is primarily an argument for the rights of Peru to the province of Jaén. The introduction is concerned with the establishment of proofs—documents, correspondence, and other data proving the bonds of Jaén with Peru. Eguigurén considers here the repulsion of Quito troops by the inhabitants, the physical barriers and the distances separating Jaén from Quito, and the voluntary surrender of the people in 1820 to Peru. Interestingly treated are the many spiritual bonds between Jaén and Peru—the Peruvian clergy in charge of the churches, the authorization of teachers by Peru, and the consideration of Lima as the center of education. The economic reasons are cogently argued to show the deterioration of agriculture, mining, grazing, and trade under the abusive exploitation of Quito and the corresponding advantages of Lima. Then the author goes back to consider the era of discovery, exploration, and foundation of Jaén, the steps taken in obtaining freedom from Quito, the work of Pedro Poncé de Leon, military apostle, the many sacrifices made by Peru, all culminating in the royal decree of June 1, 1784, granting Jaén to the viceroyalty of Peru.

There is endless repetition and a tiresome persistence in reinserting the same arguments. The theme is resumed through a recital of the status of

Jaén during the 1809-1813 revolution of Quito, the work of the parish priests in preparing the ground for union with Peru, the establishment of the independence of Peru and further reiteration of Bolívar's opinion about Jaén. Inserted is a consideration of Jaén's historical geography drawn from descriptions by Humboldt, Raimondi, and La Condamine, and a section devoted to the merits of one Sanchez Carrión, secretary and private attorney of Bolívar in Peru. Then come extensive remarks on the Galapagos Islands of which the following is a sample:

> Ecuador has signed pacts with the United States of North America for the establishment of naval bases by the latter in the Galapagos Islands, for continental defense. The motive elicits our deep respect; but let it be remembered that in every occasion this was always a cause for protest by Peru.
>
> If the agreement and transaction with Ecuador at Rio de Janeiro due to the convenient adjustment of the National and local debt of Lima with the Yankee capital has been the cause of the Peruvian government's silence regarding this "temporal" cession of the Galapagos I have nothing to say. But if none of these grave matters have been taken into account, I reiterate here all that was stated by diplomatic tradition, during these years, regarding mere sayings about that cession or concession (p. 338).

In the section "What happened and What is to be Done," Dr. Eguigurén indulges in a long colloquy on the political disturbances of 1939 and since, citing the present conditions in Jaén and emphasizing its needs (and the author finds many). There are many personal reflections on justice or the lack of it, corruption in politics, ingratitude shown public servants, and many comparisons of early events with contemporary ones. Throughout the work there are reproduced photostats of documents of every sort —pages from tax registers, certificates, decrees, letters, remissions of annuities, etc. The last 200 pages are devoted to documents and chronological data partly unedited. The aim was stated simply in the beginning—"I consider it my duty to show by means of unpretentious data which I consider useful, the territorial rights of my country" (p. 14). The aim was laudable, the attempt heroic, the achievement monumental—but the *data*, according to the reviewer's poor, exhausted attempt at definition, indeed pretentious.

MARY P. HOLLERAN

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Academy of American Franciscan History was formally inaugurated at a one-day meeting held at Mount Saint Sepulchre on April 18. The ceremonies began with a solemn mass. In the afternoon a paper was read by J. Manuel Espinosa on "Our Debt to the Franciscan Missionaries of New Mexico" and another, by John Tate Lanning on "The Intellectual History of the Spanish Colonies: Its Revision with Special Reference to the Franciscans." Howard Mumford Jones gave an address at the banquet. At the evening session there were papers by Carlos E. Castañeda on "The Sons of Saint Francis in Texas;" by Eduardo Enriques Rios on "Franciscan Influence in Mexican Culture;" by France V. Scholes on "Franciscan Contributions to Maya Studies." Every assurance of cooperation was given to Father Roderick Wheeler, director of the Academy, by his Franciscan superiors and confreres. The new organization is making a very auspicious beginning.

An Institute of Inter-American Affairs has been established at Loyola University, Chicago for the promotion of closer relations and better contacts with Latin America. On May 12-13 a two-day program of papers and discussions was held.

A Canadian branch of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America was inaugurated on October 21, 1943.

The first meeting of the Commission for Research on Polish Immigration was held in New York on December 29-30. A dozen papers were presented.

The quarterly *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* for April contains a summary of the activities of the various units of the Institute both in the United States and Canada, a bibliography of recent books and articles on Polish affairs, and the texts of a number of papers read before meetings of the Institute. Among those of interest to historians are the following: "The Treaty of Westphalia and the Partitions of Poland" by the President of the Institute, Jan Kucharzowski; "Polish-German Relations in Pomerania and East Prussia," by Emily Allyn of Wilson College; and especially interesting to church historians will be "The Church Laws for Orientals of the Austrian Monarchy in the Age of the Enlightenment," by Willibald Ploechl of the Catholic University of America.

A Review for 1943, the summary of the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation, prepared by President Raymond B. Fosdick, which appeared in March, has a number of items of interest to the historian. A grant for salaries of secretaries, research workers, and draftsmen was given to the Committee on the Protection of Cultural Treasures of the American Council of Learned Societies for making maps which will locate in the war areas of Europe the libraries, museums, galleries, palaces, and churches of each city. Cities covered thus far are those in France, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Albania, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and 165 maps have been furnished of Italian cities and towns. The Foundation made grants to 107 men and women of Latin American countries for study in the United States. Cornell University received $10,000 for summer courses in Russian civilization and Harvard received $25,000 for developing Slavic studies over a five-year period. Students of regional history in the United States will be interested in the grant of $50,000 to the Huntington Library for studies of the Southwest and to the University of Chicago of $14,500 for developing a central archive of source materials relating to the early history of the upper Mississippi Valley and adjacent Canada, the latter grant to run for a three-year period.

The efforts of Catholic officials to preserve the records of the present war for future historians have been very promising. It is quite evident that the accounts of Catholic activity in World War II will be much better preserved than were those during 1914-1918. In the Military Ordinariate the records of chaplains and their correspondence are being carefully classified and preserved for the future historian. Local and diocesan agencies have assigned personnel to the preservation of local accounts. The University of Notre Dame, through the archivist, Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., has offered to receive and preserve records of Catholic lay heroes in the war. Of the printed efforts to preserve the record of Catholics in the war, the supplement to the annual *Year Book of the Diocese of Indianapolis*, entitled *Military Personnel, Diocese of Indianapolis, 1944*, deserves special commendation. Besides listing the clergy who have joined the military or naval forces, the volume gives by parishes all the men and women of the diocese who have been or are in the service. The list will be supplemented at future dates. No editor is mentioned in the publication, but this intelligent service to future historians can be credited, no doubt, to Bishop Joseph E. Ritter, and to his chancellor, Monsignor Henry F. Dugan. It is to be hoped that other dioceses will follow this excellent example.

The teaching of history has achieved a new position in American Catholic colleges in recent years; and, in some curricula, history has had to take the place of the traditional classics as the interpreter of past civilizations to the adolescent youth. Recent investigations into the amount of knowl-

edge the present-day American youngster retains about American history have brought an avalanche of criticisms upon history teachers. Catholic history teachers have been seriously concerned with this problem for some time. Joseph P. Donnelley, S.J., of St. Louis University, formerly of Regis College, has been studying the problem from the angle of textbook deficiencies. The Department of History of the University of Notre Dame has appointed a committee headed by T. Francis Butler, C.S.C., to draw up a statement concerning the place of the history survey in the traditional arts curriculum. In set curricula where philosophy is made so important, a corresponding stress must be given to the study of history and the qualifications of the history teacher.

Highlighting the recent convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at St. Louis, April 20-22, was the report of members of the Committee on American History in the Schools and Colleges on the results of their investigation. It was quite evident from the speeches of those who did report that there was no general agreement among the members of the committee about the meaning or the content of the course. Involved in the discussion were certain matters which such a committee could not decide. Some in the audience were surprised at the frank announcement of Professor George H. Knoles that the Judeo-Christian concept of history was to be rejected. Aside from the fact that such a statement was apparently repugnant to many teachers present, it concerned matters which could hardly have been the proper subject of the committee's investigation. The pragmatic interpretation of history which rejects the philosophy of history of St. Augustine as found in the *De Civitate Dei* may suit those who do not care to learn and evaluate the things of the past; but besides being of doubtful premises, this opinion is, of its nature, of very doubtful historicity. Another difference of point of view broadly hinted in the speeches and discussions, concerns the relation of history to the political and social sciences. In general the discussion was stimulating, but inconclusive—as perhaps such discussions should be.

Thomas F. O'Connor, formerly historiographer of the Diocese of Syracuse has been appointed historiographer of the Archdiocese of New York. On March 1, he took over his new duties, with offices in the Chancery Building, 477 Madison Avenue, New York City, 22.

A native of Syracuse and a graduate of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts, Mr. O'Connor pursued his graduate studies in American history at Syracuse University and at St. Louis University. At the former, he worked particularly in the field of American colonial history and on the history of religious toleration in seventeenth-century New York with Professor Edwin P. Tanner. At St. Louis University his study and research lay chiefly in the field of American church history under the late

Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., and in modern church history under the late Raymond Corrigan, S.J. With the transfer of Father Garraghan to the newly-established Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Chicago, Mr. O'Connor took over his work in American church history in the Graduate School of St. Louis University. During his years at St. Louis and since, he has contributed to a number of scholarly journals and has appeared at different times on the programs of the meetings of the American Catholic Historical Association, the American Society of Church History, and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association. He has, within the last few weeks, completed a history of the Diocese of Syracuse.

In his new position, Mr. O'Connor is conducting an intensive study of the archival resources of the archdiocese, and intends in the near future to inaugurate a similar survey of the manuscript and printed sources of the history of the Church in New York located in private and public depositories. He will also serve as the representative of the Archbishop in matters concerning the use of materials in the archdiocesan archives.

Mr. O'Connor was elected archivist of the United States Catholic Historical Society on May 16. On taking up his new duties as archivist, succeeding the Reverend Thomas J. McMahon, who has held that post for the past eight years, Mr. O'Connor will engage in compiling a complete index of the Society's volumes, now numbering fifty-three. He will be custodian, among other things, of a collection of 200 anti-Catholic books printed in America since 1836.

The Reverend Joseph H. Brady, professor of history in Seton Hall College, and a former vice-president of the American Catholic Historical Association, has been named historiographer of the Archdiocese of Newark. Father Brady took his doctorate at Columbia University and his dissertation on *Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821* (New York, 1937) was published in the Columbia University Studies in History and Political Science. He is at present working on a history of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, by way of preliminary to the history of the archdiocese.

Richard Pattee's paper, "A Rivisionist Approach to Hispanic American Studies," the presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association held in New York on December 29, has been reprinted from our January number in the April issue of the *Catholic Mind*. During the winter Professor Pattee gave six public lectures at El Centro Cultural Universitario in Mexico City on the general subject of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Howard Mumford Jones, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University, was recently elected to the presidency of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Mr. Jones' most recent work, *Ideas in America*, will be welcomed by all students of American in-

tellectual history. A considerable number of our readers will recall with pleasure hearing Dean Jones' brilliant address delivered on April 18 at the inaugural dinner of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington.

The annual report of the National Archives was not printed this year in order to conserve paper and funds. Copies of the report will not be available for general distribution until it is published after the war.

The *Report of the Public Archives of Canada* (1943) contains, besides the archivist's report, several historical documents, and a calendar of state papers of the lieutenant-governors of Upper Canada for the years 1837-1838. One of the documents published was issued to establish the first representative body in Canada, the Quebec Council, in 1657, in the reign of Louis XIV.

Number 8 of the first volume of the *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History* is devoted to an article by Lester J. Cappon entitled, "War Records Projects in the States, 1941-1943."

Acting Governor Walter Goodman of Wisconsin has appointed a State Historical Markers Committee to study the selection and marking of historical sites in Wisconsin. This makes at least thirty states which have marking programs.

Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, formerly librarian and assistant director of the Hayes Memorial at Fremont, Ohio, has joined the staff of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. He is engaged in editing for the Society a bibliography of Ohio, the first part of which will be devoted to the prehistoric period.

William Martin Jeffers, Union Pacific president and recent rubber administrator, won the American Irish Historical Society's annual gold medal for outstanding achievement.

Those doing research work in the Jacksonian period of American history may be glad to know that Xavier University in Cincinnati harbors a useful collection of about 200 political letters written by such men as Andrew Jackson, Thomas H. Benton, James K. Polk, and William Henry Harrison to Mr. Moses Dawson, editor of the *Cincinnati Advertiser*. The letters dealing with problems current at the time, especially the banking situation, were given to the University in 1936 by Mr. Joseph Debar. Mr. Dawson died December 2, 1844.

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The University also boasts of eight *incunabula*, all duly listed in M. B. Stillwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries*, 1940. Two more, Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493) and Nicholas of Osimo's *Supplementum Summae Magistratiae* (Venice, 1477), have been discovered since the Stillwell listing.

The fiftieth *Annual Report, 1942-1943* of the Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore recently appeared. It is the first printed report of the Library since 1916. The number of books consulted in this famous research collection has dropped nearly eighty percent during wartime.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference (3801 Grand Avenue, Des Moines 12, Iowa) has published *Rural Life in a Peaceful World*, a brochure containing a statement of principles and methods of the Conference. It is to be hoped that future historians will have great things to report in regard to the achievements of this active group.

The Liturgical Conference announces that it will hold its meeting at St. Meinrad's Abbey, Indiana, October 3-5, and a liturgical week in New York City, December 28-30.

William L. Lucey, S.J., of the College of the Holy Cross contributed to the March number of the *New England Quarterly* a report on the capture of the *Hibernia* by a French privateer in 1800 during the undeclared naval war between the United States and France. The memorial was written in rough draft by Edward Kavanagh, son of James Kavanagh, one of the commissioners appointed by President Monroe when the owners of the vessels were still trying to secure compensation some twenty years after the capture. Despite the favorable report of the memorialists, however, the claim was not allowed. Edward Kavanagh, future governor of Maine, and a Catholic, has been the subject of Father Lucey's research for some time.

Sister Monica Kiefer, O.P., of the College of St. Mary of the Springs, Columbus, contributes an article to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January on the subject "Early American Childhood in the Middle Atlantic Area." Sister Monica has examined a considerable amount of literature for the years from the late eighteenth century to around 1835. The milder discipline of the later period was by then in evidence in the handling of children. The University of Pennsylvania Press will publish a monograph by Sister Monica later in the year.

The outstanding Catholic layman of early nineteenth-century North Carolina is a subject of perennial interest to Catholic historians. In the April

issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review* his career as a justice is analyzed by J. Herman Schauinger of Gannon College, Erie, in a well-documented article entitled, "William Gaston and the Supreme Court of North Carolina."

The article by Walter H. C. Laves and Francis O. Wilcox in the *American Political Science Review* (XXXVIII, 289-301) on "The Reorganization of the Department of State" is not just one of the timely pieces on American government and politics. It has a documentary character, for it includes charts, a diagnosis of personnel and function, and a record of public comment upon the changes of January 15, 1944. The nature of the press comment should indicate to historians of the future that the Department's critics are less concerned with the "archaic" machinery they have talked about than they are with the men and measures identified with recent policy.

The recent publication of a study of the Catholic attitude on the slavery controversy before the Civil War, reviewed elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW, causes regret among the friends of the late Sister Mary Margaret Duffy, O.S.U., of Cleveland, whose untimely death prevented the completion of her researches on the subject. Sister Mary Margaret had concentrated on the two southern states, Maryland and Louisiana, where Catholic slave owners were most prominent. Her researches had taken her into local newspaper files, plantation diaries, wills, hospital and church records, and private collections such as the Pickett Papers and convent archives. Her preliminary studies had brought out many interesting sidelights on the relations between white Catholics and the Negroes. In particular she found that the attitude of the Irish in New Orleans, particularly the congregation of St. Patrick's Church, toward the Negro was one of which the descendants of these newly-arrived immigrants can be proud. She did not find, however, that the attitude of the Catholic population generally towards the slave trade was entirely in accordance with the letter of Pope Gregory XVI of December 3, 1839, on the subject of the traffic of slaves. The evidence that she had collected is so interesting that it is to be hoped some one of her community will complete the work she had begun.

One of the most important laymen active in Catholic journalism and public affairs during the past few decades was Arthur Preuss, founder and editor of the *Catholic Fortnightly Review*. Students of American Catholic history of the first decades of the twentieth century will be pleased to know that his correspondence has become the property of the library of the Catholic Central Verein at St. Louis. Few American laymen in our history were so well versed in theology and philosophy as Mr. Preuss, and fewer still had the courage to criticize those who seemed to wander from

the straight and narrow way. His caustic criticisms were feared by many Catholics in public life, and enjoyed by others who did not feel their effects. Even those who disagreed with him were well aware of his importance in the Catholic life of the country; and Catholics of German descent in the nation owed much of the intelligent leadership they enjoyed in matters of social and economic betterment to him and to his writings. It is to be hoped that the correspondence will be found complete enough to fill out the picture of his activities already recorded at some length in the columns of his *Review*.

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The Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of Campinas, Brazil, organized only a little more than three years ago, would welcome the gift of books on the part of generous American institutions. Professor Henrique Schaeffer is the librarian of the Faculty.

Alexander Marchant's monograph, *From Barter to Slavery, The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore, 1942), reviewed in an earlier number of this quarterly, has been translated into Portuguese and published in Brazil.

"Construtores da história," an essay in Father Heliodoro Pires's latest book, *Nas galerias da arte e da história* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, Ltda., 1944), is a very good bibliographical guide for Brazilian church history. Father Pires has long devoted himself to historical and artistic subjects.

The Reverend Dr. António da Silva Rêgo and Senhora Dona Luiza da Fonseca are working jointly in the Arquivo da Tôrre do Tombo of Lisbon on a much-needed history of the Portuguese *padroado* in the Orient. As is well known, Portugal enjoys to this day the right of patronage over a wide area in the Far East; and the research which Drs. Rêgo and Fonseca are now carrying on will no doubt clarify many points in the history of what surely must be one of the oldest evidences of fruitful co-operation between the Holy See and a Catholic state.

Future historians of the Church's crusade against paganism will be grateful for the articles on missions published from time to time in the excellent review, *Moçambique documentário trimestral*, organ of the colonial government of Moçambique (Portuguese East Africa). The latest number of the review to be received, No. 36, corresponding to the month of December, 1943, includes a survey of the progress and achievements of the St. Rose of Viterbo mission of Malaíce. It is illustrated photographically.

Bulletin No. 18 of the *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada* arrives just as we go to press (University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Seventy-five cents). Ruth J. Dean has a survey of "Latin Paleography: 1929-1943" and Francis J. Carmody presents a review of "Ten Years of American Scholarship in Medieval Science." The zealous editor of the Bulletin, S. H. Thomson, edits the results of the investigation into the "Monographic Holdings of American Libraries in the Medieval and Renaissance Fields." The list of 400 titles has been greatly corrected since it was sent out to the libraries. Eighty libraries responded. Yale at the top of the list has all but six of the four hundred—one more than Harvard. The libraries of several of the Catholic universities are surprisingly weak in the holdings covered by this sur-

vey. Rather well-off are the Catholic University of America in twenty-eighth place, Fordham in forty-third, and the Pontifical Institute in forty-sixth. There has been considerable criticism—valid we think—of the list of titles, but the method of choosing the titles appeared to be very intelligent. Lists of active scholars in the field and of dissertations are given as usual. Father Gerald G. Walsh will be able, thank God, to protest his being listed in the obituary.

The *Dublin Review* (Jan., 1944) has an enlightening review of the life and work of the German scholar, Ernst Troeltsch, best known in this country for his *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. This work became available in English in 1931, eight years after the author's death. Troeltsch was first of all a theologian and philosopher, and Mr. Wilhelm Schenck, who writes the article, finds the key to his work in the tension set up in one who was striving towards ultimate, objective, binding truth and at the same time drawn to the infinite variety of historical phenomena which seems so difficult to reconcile with objective truth. The result was to make Troeltsch endeavor to present a picture of a valid Christendom operating in spite of, even through a modern secular age. Mr. Schenk makes the point that most of his ideas were shaped prior to 1914 and that it is much clearer today that modern secular things admit of no transcendental standards by which they may be judged.

Volume XXVI (1944), Fourth Series of *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* contains F. M. Stenton's presidential address on "English Families and the Norman Conquest"; and papers by Miss H. M. Cam, "From Witness of the Shire to Full Parliament"; by Dom David Knowles, "Some Developments in English Monastic Life, 1216-1336"; by K. B. McFarlane, "Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism.'" Dom Knowles promises a larger work on later mediaeval monasticism in England.

Two papers by Dom R. Hugh Connolly of Downside Abbey appeared in 1942 in a brochure entitled: *The De Sacramentis a Work of St. Ambrose*. In the first paper Dom Connolly argues for the authorship of Ambrose on the basis of Biblical quotations and in the second on the basis of parallels in thought and expression. He has been occupied with this subject for some years and his cumulative proof keeps growing stronger. Our readers will recall that the *De sacramentis* has a particularly clear exposition of the eucharistic doctrine.

Announcement was made on April 15 of the promotion of Ross J. S. Hoffman to the rank of full professor in Fordham University. Professor Hoffman served as President of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1938.

The Reverend Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., has been appointed to the department of history of the Graduate School of Georgetown University. Dr. Durkin has been chairman of the department of history in the University of Scranton.

The American Catholic Historical Association and the REVIEW extend sympathy to Mr. James F. Kenney, Director of Historical Research in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, on the death of his wife. Dr. Kenney is secretary of the English Section of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and an advisory editor of this REVIEW.

Dr. René Lufríu y Alonso, secretary of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, Havana, died on March 5. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW presents its condolences to the Academy on the loss of its distinguished collaborator.

Alexander J. Wall, director of the New York Historical Society and author of many works on pioneer America, died in New York on April 14.

Alexander James Carlyle, author of the *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* in six volumes, died recently in England at the age of eighty-three. The son of a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, he was himself an Anglican clergyman. He was educated at Glasgow and Oxford and for nearly twenty-five years was rector of St. Martin's and All Saints', Oxford. Besides his great work he was the author of a *Life of Bishop Latimer, The Influence of Christianity on Social and Political Ideas, The Christian Church and Liberty*, etc.

This is the centennial year in the United States of the Society of the Precious Blood. It was in January, 1844, that eight priests and seven brothers of that congregation arrived from Switzerland to begin their work in northern Ohio at the invitation of Bishop John B. Purcell of Cincinnati.

The Motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto at Nerinckx, Kentucky, has issued a brochure on the history of the community entitled, *An Army of Peace*, which is the work of the students of Webster College and Loretto Heights College.

Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L., has written a brochure on the *History of Saint Patrick Parish, 1893-1943*, in Kankakee, Illinois. The parish was founded by the Reverend J. J. Darcy and remained in the hands of the diocesan clergy until 1931, when it was given over to the Clerics of St. Viator by Cardinal Mundelein. Sister Lilliana has made use of the secular

press and the parish archives. To the account she has added a brief sketch of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, who teach in St. Patrick's High School and elementary school.

May 19 marked the fiftieth anniversary in the priesthood of the distinguished Italian historian and philosopher, Don Luigi Sturzo. The American Catholic Historical Association and the editors of the REVIEW take this opportunity to extend to the jubilarian their heartiest congratulations on the fulfillment of a half-century of service uncommonly rich in behalf of Christian social thought and action.

Documents:

One letter of the Reverend Michael Heiss to the central board of directors of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, Munich. Peter Leo Johnson (Ed.) (*Salesianum*, Apr.).—A Proposed Library for the Merchant Guild of Veracruz, 1801. Irving A. Leonard and Robert S. Smith (*Hispanic-Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Feb.).—Documents on the Cathedral and Palace at Guadalajara. Luis Páez Brotchie (*Estudios Historicos*, Jan.).—Un manuscrito histórico desconocido. Contribución para la historia de Tonala. Ignacio Davila Garibi (*ibid.*).—Expulsión de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus [*conclusion*]. (*Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno*, Guatemala, Dec. 1943).—Escritura de dotación y fundación del Colegio de Recogimiento de Doncellas. (*Ibid.*).—El cabildo suplica a su Majestad, favorezca al Colegio de Recogimiento de doncellas. (*Ibid.*).—Autos acerca de la utilidad de la fundación del Colegio de San Jerónimo, por los religiosos de Nuestra Señora de la Merced Redención de Cautivos. (*Ibid.*).—Supresión del Colegio de San Jerónimo. (*Ibid.*).—Testamento y codicilos otorgados por el Ilmo. señor Obispo don Francisco Marroquin. (*Ibid.*, Mar.).—"Memorial de lo que contienen los papeles presentados en el Consejo de Indias, sobre que se confirme le ereción de la Universidad." (*Ibid.*).—Cédula en que su Majestad ordena sea complida in voluntad del Obispo Marroquín, sobre la fundación de un colegio. (*Ibid.*).—Fundación y dotación de la Universidad de Guatemala, por el Correo Mayor Pedro Crespo Xuares. (*Ibid.*).—Testamento del Correo Mayor Pedro Crespo Zuares. (*Ibid.*).—Poder otorgado por los Patrones del Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino, en solicitud de la fundación de Universidad en él. (*Ibid.*).—El Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Santiago pide a su Majestad instituya una Universidad. (*Ibid.*).—De nuevo el Ayuntamiento gestiona la fundación de la Universidad. (*Ibid.*).—Autos de la merced y fundación de le Real Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala. (*Ibid.*).

BRIEF NOTICES

BRUCKBERGER, R.-M. *Rejoindre Dieu.* (Montreal: Editions Variétés. 1939. Pp. 61. 45c.)

ENGLEBERT, OMER (Ed.). *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc par elle-même.* (Montreal: Editions Variétés. 1940. Pp. 72. 45c.)

GUIQUES, LOUIS-PAUL (Ed.). *Le Sang, La Croix, La Vérité* par Sainte Catherine de Sienne. (Montreal: Editions Variétés. 1940. Pp. 65. 45c.)

The editor of the famous Collection Catholique purports, in these three volumes, to link together the various doctrines which set forth the advisability and the possibility of discovering, amidst total turmoil, the serenity of a Christian *modus agendi*. In a convenient form and at a modest price, these paper-covered brochures, though written in French, are treasures for the reader who is searching for truth in modern dress and scenery.

The author of *Rejoindre Dieu* desired to indicate, at least briefly, the privilege of a Christian piety that would link God and His creation as the Humanity of Christ and His Eucharistic Presence. Thus we find, throughout the pages, that Christianity has revealed to the world the possibiilty of loving God and, more especially, of grasping a supernatural love of God.

It is well-known that St. Joan of Arc never penned her autobiography. As a matter of fact, she spoke it during her court trial. Interrogated and compelled to answer questions, she unveiled her soul and thus narrated her life. The authentic text of her trial serves as the basis of this brochure. The editor has simply added parentheses to shed more light on certain problems and thereby dovetails chronologically certain important statements. The coarse language arises from the saint's illiteracy. Although the original text was written in Latin, nevertheless that Latin reflects the French of the era.

Le Sang, La Croix, La Vérité is a remarkable collection of thirteen letters written by St. Catherine of Siena. She gives them a pathetic beauty, an inimitable accent, and often a dose of mildness. The majority of these letters are veritable dramas. At times the reader can visualize the saint's fists closing, her hands in vehement gestures as so many means for underscoring the ideals of a Christian life. Fearless, intrepid, apostolic yet docile and obedient, St. Catherine of Siena was a front-line crusader for Christ. (GILBERT F. LEDUC)

DIAMOND, WILLIAM. *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Vol. LXI.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 210, xiv. $2.00.)

To select the economic thought from the voluminous writings of a scholar and statesman who was mainly interested in politics and its practice is no easy task, especially when one considers that Woodrow Wilson "never

thought systematically on economic matters." However, the author of this work has succeeded in giving a detailed account of the economic preferences of the late President. No small factor in his achievement is due to the permission he was fortunate to obtain from Mrs. Wilson to examine the rich manuscript collection of Wilson's private papers in the Library of Congress.

It is evident that the key to Wilson's economic thought is to be found in his belief in the classical system and the tenets of the Manchester school. The ideas of Cobden and Bright appealed to him, as he hoped they "would unite mankind in the bonds of peace." He never abandoned the classical principles, but stern realities so tempered his views that he became the hope of the conservatives to save Democracy from Bryanism, and also the hope of the progressives with his "New Freedom" from plutocracy.

There is very little pattern in Wilson's economics except that the ethical element is at all times paramount. He was for the workingman, yet he had no faith in the efficacy of labor unions. He believed in the "invisible hand" of Providence, but a Tariff Commission, the F.T.C., and the Federal Reserve Board might direct it. He pleaded for world political unity yet he balked at economic international controls. He insisted on economic national individualism and international laissez faire but he repudiated dollar diplomacy. (JOHN J. WALSH)

FARNUM, MABEL. *The Seven Golden Cities.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. xiii, 275. $2.75.)

The author of this work has the knack of leading the reader with masterly touch through rocky defiles and mountain forests, along the streams and over the trackless, parched deserts of the rugged Southwest. The details of action and movement give evidence of painstaking research. The characters of Estevan the Moor and Marcos de Niza are particularly well drawn. The Black Moor gets what is coming to him, and the Franciscan reaps bitter disappointment. The venture ends in seeming failure—but bears fruit in later years. (THEODOSIUS MEYER)

HAWKINS, ROBERT MARTYR. Professor of New Testament Language and Literature in Vanderbilt University. *The Recovery of the Historical Paul.* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1943. Pp vii, 292. $3.00.)

This book's jacket gives a good summary of its contents. "... the apparent confusion in Pauline thought is due to modification of what Paul wrote. A simple analysis shows that he taught clearly and consistently the essentially Hellenistic gospel of identification with Christ in the crucifixion of the flesh, and in resurrection to a new and righteous life in the power of the Holy Spirit. Modified materials cohere with later parts of the N.T."

At the outset the author rejects the Acts as historically unreliable and hence useless for a reconstruction of the true Paul. Likewise, Hebrews and the Pastorals are judged non-Pauline. The bulk of the book is, therefore, taken up with the author's endeavor to separate the Pauline from the non-Pauline elements in the remaining ten epistles that are generally attributed to Paul. As samples of the author's criteria for non-Pauline material, the following may be mentioned: the substitutionary rather than the mystic conception

of Jesus' death, predestination, tendency to generalization, the doctrine of universal depravity and conviction of sin as a necessary preliminary to any redemptive process, eschatology, the intellectual approach to the problem of religion, wavering in syntax, and deviation from the main line of argument. The author concludes that the non-Pauline elements vary in the different epistles—about a phrase or so in Philemon, about forty to fifty per cent of Romans, practically all of Ephesians (nothing can be recognized as Paul's with certainty).

It is, of course, impossible to discuss in this review the many questions raised by Professor Hawkins. In general, one is surprised to find external evidence ignored entirely. The author frequently judges two or more ideas incompatible, at least in Paul's mind, although with a little patience and understanding they could very easily be brought into harmony, e. g., Paul's view of this life and that of the next do not exclude one another. He tries to force Paul's epistles into the strait-jacket of school canons for literary composition without taking into account their letter-character, which allows for injection of associated ideas, for digressions, for resumption of ideas and arguments already touched on or treated. The author finds "later orthodoxy" a convenient source of non-Pauline materials, but he fails to reckon with the probability that they were accepted precisely because they were Pauline; neither does he tell us why history is so silent about the great authority or authorities who supposedly introduced into and imposed them upon the early Church.

All in all, the book calls attention to the difficulties in Pauline thought—known to scholars for centuries—and proposes a solution that at botton denies their existence. Professor Hawkins in this subjective study has exercised his ingenuity to no scientific gain. His theory will win few serious adherents. (JOHN P. WEISENGOFF)

HOLISHER, DESIDER. *The Eternal City.—Rome of the Popes.* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. 160. $3.00.)

This volume is largely a compilation of photographs in black and white—a field in which the author is reported to have had a wide experience. There is also an explanatory text which, while not always up-to-date nor free from error, is instructive and sympathetic. The reproductions furnish a fairly adequate pictorial description of the papal court, of the scientific work of the Vatican libraries and art galleries, and of the missionary and educational activities fostered and directed by the papacy. The tragic circumstances of war have once more focused the attention of the world on the Eternal City, and the presence of American troops within sight of St. Peter's dome will insure a particular welcome to this attractive volume.

A theologian will object to the statement that "the essence of the teaching of the Church is found in the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter" (p. 18); it is rather found in the Creed. Biblical students will point out the erroneous reference to "the 64 books of the Old Testament" (p. 97). Archaeologists are not agreed on the site of St. Agnes' death; but they will reject the author's assertion that "the High Altar of the Basilica of St. Agnes (fuori le Mura) ... stands on the rock upon which St. Agnes suffered martyrdom" (p. 29). The Dominican General does not reside "in the monastery of the

Angelico" (p. 109); the generalate of the Order was transferred some eight years ago from the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva to the monastery attached to the Church of Santa Sabina on the Aventine. There are many sacred relics in the Basilica of St. Peter—the Spear of Longinus, the Veil of Veronica, etc.; but to state that "the grave of St. Peter contains the most precious relics of the entire Church" (p. 32), is an exaggeration. What about the relics of the True Cross in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme? What is "St. Peter's Ring?" (p. 54) The fisherman's ring which is broken on the death of the pope and re-made when his successor is elected? But the fisherman's ring is not used during audiences and liturgical functions. The mission statistics given on page 111 could be doubled and would correspond more closely to actual facts. The author's chapter on "Civil Life in the Vatican City" (pp. 141, 142) makes no mention of the Commission of three cardinals created in April, 1939, to supervise the government of the State of Vatican City. (✠ R. L. H.)

HOWARD, JOSEPH KINSEY. *Montana, High, Wide and Handsome.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 347. $3.00.)

If the reader of this volume is looking for a story of blood and thunder, he is doomed to disappointment. As in any book dealing with the frontier, tales of the raw and the rough are inevitable. Primarily, however, this is a serious and informative study of what, to otherwise informed Americans, is a remote region. The work very ably demonstrates that Montana, one of the richest states in the Union in natural resources, has had from its beginnings, a more than usual share of hard luck. But one must read Chapter I and digest the pertinent utterance of the old Indian: "Wrong side up." Chapter II supplies a surprising expose of Indian knowledge of medicine, diet, and even of native elixir till it was supplanted by the white man's more treacherous "firewater." The story of the disappearance of the buffalo is touchingly told as well as the passing of the open range.

In any sketch of Montana "the old sun tanned prospector" has an honored place, and the evolution of mining from his romantic day through that of the mining kings: Daly, Clark, Heinze, to their successors in the Anaconda Copper Mining Company of today is of gripping interest. Into this setting falls naturally the rise of that unique city, Butte, the like of which in all the wide world, there is probably none other.

A host of characters, Indian and white, lend color to the pages of a work that is never dull. There pass in review Indian chiefs and warriors, squaws, papooses, cattle barons, cowboys, miners, road agents, vigilantes, ladies of easy life, artists, adventurers, politicians, and hardy pioneers. One will meet the cultured Irish Meagher, first acting governor of the territory, Granville Stuart, pioneer miner and cattle baron, picturesque Sir St. George Gore and Major Eugene Baker.

Almost forgotten episodes of importance come to light again, such as Levine's study on *Taxation of Mines in Montana* and the bungling of the Federal Reserve Banking System in the 1920's. Of special concern to Montanans and, indeed, to forward-looking citizens elsewhere is the subject dis-

cussed in Chapter XXIV which poses the interesting question: "Who owns the upper basin of the world's fifth greatest river?"

The concluding chapters furnish a cogent argument for local initiative and planning as contrasted with long-distance bureaucracy. The bibliography is varied and extensive, the maps on the inside of the covers are helpful, and the entire format of the volume is pleasing. Catholic readers will, perhaps, miss Father DeSmet and the early missionaries, except for a scant reference or two. On the whole Mr. Howard's book is a valuable record and a real joy when compared with several mediocre efforts on Montana that have recently found their way into print. (DENIS P. MEADE)

LORD, CLIFFORD L. and LORD, ELIZABETH E. *Historical Atlas of the United States.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1944. Pp. xviii, 253. $1.75.)

The purpose of the authors in this atlas is to assist the student in seeing the growth of particular developments of the United States through periodic mapping of political, economic, and social phenomena. The book is divided into five sections. The first consists of nineteen maps of generalized data on the physical features and political boundaries of the nation, on its climate, soils, and national resources. Section two, the colonial period, comprises twenty-six maps showing the expansion of the colonies and such economic and social data as the distribution of racial groups, crop areas, manufacturing areas, the presence of colleges, and newspapers.

Two sections map the growth of the nation; 119 maps explain the period 1776-1865; 140 maps that of 1865-1941. They feature year by year the campaigns of wars, boundary disputes, exploration and expansion, production of crops, exports, density of population, the extension of the suffrage, the establishment of colleges, the founding of newspapers, and similar data. Eight world maps constitute the last section showing the relationship of the United States with the rest of the world. Six appendices furnish further details on population, presidential elections, immigration, imports and exports, railroad mileage, initiative, referendum and recall.

The authors achieve their purpose. The growth of the nation in its economic and social as well as in its political phases is progressively visualized from maps derived from a variety of excellent sources, especially from government publications. Occasionally, too much detail for a small black and white map and too fine a print for the legend make reading difficult. The amount of data on a single map like the two in section four on trade routes, expansion, exports, and foreign investments indicate how serviceable the atlas is. It should be a daily tool for the high school and college student of the social studies and a welcome work-book for the teacher. (SISTER MARY BORGIAS PALM)

MAGNER, JAMES A. *Latin America Pattern.* (Cincinnati: Catholic Students' Mission Crusade. 1943. Pp. 98. 88c.)

A reviewer ordinarily would not expend much enthusiasm on a brochure running to less than a hundred pages. But this little work seems to call for some display of enthusiastic approval. The first volume in a series on "the

problems of the living Church," *Latin America Pattern* is timely because, as Archbishop McNicholas points out in a foreword, "It recognizes the essentially Catholic background of our good neighbors." It is intended to be a textbook for secondary schools and, although at times its language seems a trifle out of the reach of the secondary level, it should find a ready welcome in Catholic schools.

The general treatment is necessarily panoramic but there are some good close-ups of periods and institutions. Four of the fourteen chapters are devoted to the Church in Latin America during four periods. Here the treatment is excellent and both the strength and weakness of the Church in Latin America are well portrayed. Those who are always and forever oversimplifying the picture of Church-State relations in Latin America could profit from such chapters as the one on "The Church during the Period of the Independence Movement and After."

From the standpoint of history, the text is practically faultless. Any adverse criticism would have to be of a minor sort. For example, one might complain that too little importance is attached to the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in explaining the beginnings of the break with Spain (pp. 34-35). A look at the bibliography will indicate the part this little work can and should play. The author is unable to list any work in English by a Catholic covering the general Latin American field, for the simple reason that none exists! It is to be hoped that *Latin America Pattern* will not be restricted to the textbook trade but will be made available to the general Catholic reader through the bookstores. It is worthy of a wide patronage. (ROBERT J. WELCH.)

MOORE, PHILIP S., and MARTHE DULONG. *Sententiae Petri Pictaviensis, I.* [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, Vol. VII.] (Notre Dame: Publications in Mediaeval Studies. 1943. Pp. lxii, 326. Cloth $4.50; paper $4.00.)

This volume increases the debt of mediaeval scholars to the University of Notre Dame's mediaeval studies, so capably edited by Father Philip Moore. Two theological currents met in Peter of Poitiers: the rational dialectic of Abelard and the traditionalism of Peter Lombard. The most important work of Peter of Poitiers is his *Sententiarum libri quinque*, of which the first book is here published by Father Moore and Marthe Dulong. Books II-V are promised as soon as reasonably possible. The influence of Peter of Poitier's *Sententiae* was very great, extending even to Aquinas' questions on the Divine Names and the Trinity. The *Sententiae* presented new theological material, perhaps only the new questions being discussed in the schools, but questions not found in any previous author. The technical terms *spiratio, ex opere operato, ex opere operantis, synderesis*, etc., are first met in Peter of Poitiers. In method, the *Sententiae* is an excellent example of the new dialectical approach that led to the flowering of the scholastic method in the thirteenth century, helped by the diffusion of Aristotelian logic.

In the first book Peter of Poitiers developed five tracts on God: De Deo Uno, De Attributis Divinis, de Proprietatibus Divinis, De Deo Trino, and De

Operationibus ad extra. In those tracts he passed over all questions sufficiently covered by the Lombard and all questions of a canonical or merely curious character, devoting full attention to those matters that give scope to the new dialectic. Of special interest was his frequent use of speculative grammar in clarifying theological obscurities and apparent contradictions.

The sources of Peter of Poitiers are mainly patristic, Augustine holding first place with eighty-six quotations. It is quite likely that he cited the fathers from the Lombard's *Sententiae* or *Glosatura* and other like collections. Of the post-patristic authors, Peter's greatest debt is to Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard.

The text of the *Sententiae* is preserved in twenty-six complete and five fragmentary manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in four thirteenth-century abridgments. Of the twenty-four manuscripts utilized in establishing the text, the four best have been chosen as the actual basis of the edition, E (Erfurt) being the base manuscript with B (Breslau), Lr (British Museum, Royal), and Ts (Troyes) supplying readings where E was considered faulty.

There are two indices to the volume: Index Auctoritatum per Initia; Index Nominum et Rerum. (Brother Charles Henry Buttimer)

Nichols, Jeannette P. *Twentieth Century United States. A History.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. Pp. xiii, 413, lxxi. $3.50.)

With almost half of the twentieth century passed into history—a startling thought to professors and historians still evaluating the achievements and errors of Versailles—a survey of those years with their accompanying changes is valuable. While much of this book, chapters III-XVII, appeared in the two earlier works of Nichols and Nichols, *The Growth of American Democracy* (1939), and the two-volume enlargement, *The Republic of the United States* (1942), there are two new chapters at the beginning, the approach is simplified and some material added, while the last chapter is new narrative.

Dr. Nichols' opinions are readily apparent in many interpretations of the facts presented. In dealing with religion under "Daily Living Between Wars," the author mentions a decline in Protestant church attendance, remarks that Catholics, too, "saw the need for expanded activities," and cites as examples the sodality movement, eucharistic congresses, and growth of schools and charitable institutions. That they were both the means and the expression of the deepening spiritual life of Catholics is not understood in evaluating them as enticements to greater attendance.

In the closing chapter, "After Pearl Harbor," the author skillfully and courageously summarizes the American war effort, failure, and success. Her frankly didactic purpose is acknowledged: "Unless we know our historic background, the status of our resources and the virile potentialities of our racial admixtures, we lack the strength of self-knowledge. Without that knowledge we may be victimized by change; with it, we may meet change on our own terms" (p. v). These changes are capably marshaled for the reader in *Twentieth Century United States.* (Sister Maria Renata)

Peace and War, United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. xxi, 874. $2.00.)

Early in 1943 the Department of State published a brief summary of American foreign policy during the decade that began with the fall of Manchuria and ended with the declaration of the United Nations. With slight changes in paging, and implemented with specific references to the 271 documents which are included, this summary is republished in a much larger volume. Although the material selected covers many aspects of foreign policy, it presents our relations with the Japanese government in greater detail than others. It affords not only the official diplomatic correspondence, but also a number of statements by President Roosevelt and diplomatic officers as well as Department of State memoranda on diplomatic conversations.

The volume is a very convenient collection of source material for teachers of history or politics. Although it omits some subjects of interest such as the American interest in Russian-Japanese fishery treaties, and does not include negotiations among other nations which affected our policy and are indirectly mentioned, it does give the opportunity to trace several trends of policy. Among these are the effect of our relations with Great Britain and Holland on our relations with Japan, the expansion of Japanese aims in the Pacific in step with German victories, and the increasing outspokenness of the negotiations. When readers contrast the language used between representatives of two governments with that used in describing the state of the nation to the people by way of Congress or the press, they may find ample evidence of the influence of political considerations at home on governmental policies abroad, and wonder at the singularly blunt tone of the speeches. Most certainly they will wonder why, with all the forewarning we had, the American people and the armed forces thereof were ever caught unprepared at Pearl Harbor. (Elizabeth M. Lynskey)

Reany, William. *St. Theodore of Canterbury.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. ix, 127. $2.00.)

Few Americans know much of St. Theodore or of the English church and culture which he influenced. This Basilian (not Benedictine as the jacket states) monk from Tarsus, sent in his old age by the pope to become the first effective archbishop in England, combined in a remarkable way scholarship, talent for organization, and tact—the character, in other words, which seventh-century England needed. The first distinct life of the great ecclesiastical statesman, and that in popular form, is, therefore, to be applauded, especially when it purports to be also a "scholarly biography . . . critically reliable." Certainly Mr. Reany has based it upon the available source material, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* being fundamental. Secondary materials he has used lavishly, and at times not too wisely. Taine and Montalembert are hardly the authorities to be consulted on Anglo-Saxon political and constitutional matters. Long quotations, introduced for their literary rather than historical value are annoying, especially when so irrelevant as is, e. g., that on St. Basil's choice of a monastic retreat. Important recent studies

have been overlooked, most pertinent of which are perhaps the late Professor A. S. Cooke's articles on Theodore.

The reliance upon original sources throughout is commendable. Yet it may be questioned whether the author weighs their respective values sufficiently. The archbishop's part in the troubles of Wilfrid can be appreciated only when the discrepancies between Bede and Eddius have been carefully evaluated. Few today would accept at face value, as does this author, Eddius' biased testimony on the nature of Theodore's reconciliation with Wilfrid. The bibliography is carelessly done. Bede's *Complete Works*, for instance, are listed as being translated by Giles, whereas very few are available in English. The volume numbers of his works in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* are given incorrectly. Such defects prevent the book from being a first-class historical biography, although it may serve to interest the reader in a vital period of church history, and, perhaps, even draw him to the delights of Bede and Eddius themselves. (Sister Thomas Aquinas Carroll)

Strakhovsky, Leonid I. *Intervention at Archangel. The Story of Allied Intervention and Russian Counter-Revolution in North Russia, 1918-1920.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 336. $3.00.)

This small but attractively produced volume is divided into seven sections. The work is the more interesting because the author not only reads and speaks French, Russian, and English, thereby having access to sources in all these languages concerning the intervention, but he was actually in Russia when it occurred.

However this North Russian incident is viewed, there arises from it certain obvious facts, such as that international co-operation (pp. 30, 31) was not always conceived as having a common end, but actually was characterized by opposition between the nations involved which injured the consummation sought. There was the incident of the use of the Red flag and whether it should be used; this was followed by a *coup d'etat*, during which the officials of the local government were varied and such variation not being communicated to the American ambassador. Such incidents raised the question whether the Allies could really expect beneficent results from trying to win control of northern Russia when such lack of understanding of the aims of Russia and her Allies existed.

Again, this book is timely for the light which it sheds on the problems which military government of foreign areas naturally produces. Just as these arose around Archangel and Murmansk, they will again arise when the Allies, if victorious, attempt to control and rule large areas of Europe, Asia, and the Pacific islands.

The points to bear in mind are the opposition of diplomats to high-handed military action and behavior; then, the natural opposition between the local government leaders and the military officials. It seems impossible for officials to understand that man by nature is a fighting animal, and secondly, that national policies and aims are seldom similar in conception or in action between different countries.

This volume will be of much value to students and diplomats because it dwells on the points which show that co-operation with, and understanding

of, a people are not easily obtained, except by long study of an area and its residents. This is seldom possible for military men, hence, the perpetual failure of soldiers, when trying to deal with non-military government. Co-operation may be produced if actual facts are made public, so that those who rule and are ruled may realize why certain policies are proposed. From this angle Mr. Strakhovsky's work is valuable. (BOYD CARPENTER)

STUART, GRAHAM H. *Latin America and the United States.* 4th ed. rev. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. Pp. viii, 509. $4.00.)

For twenty years Stuart's *Latin America and the United States* has been a standard and respected work. Now for the third time (previously in 1928 and 1938) it has been patched up and augmented, this time to cover the recent eventful years since the outbreak of the war. The preface to this edition explains the latest revision. "The Good Neighbor Policy of the Roosevelt administration, followed by the outbreak of the War in the Western Hemisphere, has brought about a new era in the relations of the United States with Latin America. The present edition seeks to indicate the many resulting changes." The revision touches every one of the original chapters.

Two new chapters have been added. The first, entitled "Undermining the Monroe Doctrine," treats Axis subversive activities in Latin America. The chapter is without documentation, but the author explains that "the facts of the chapter are based on information obtained in the various United States embassies and legations in South America" in the course of a recent trip (footnote, p. 82). Nothing is offered in the chapter that has not appeared in one form or another in the American daily and periodical press during the war. The other new chapter, "Implementing the Good Neighbor Policy," attempts to estimate the fruits of this policy as well as the obstacles to its perfect operation. This chapter repeats much that had been handled earlier in the book. Mr. Stuart is high in his praise of the policy to date and quite sanguine as to the future of our relations with Latin America. In discussing the obstacles to better understanding in the past (pp. 11, 43, 490-491) with a view to eradicating them in the interests of improved relations in the future, nothing whatever is said about religious problems which are of such importance. In fact, there is no mention anywhere of the Church in discussing past, present, and future relations of Latin America and the United States. (ROBERT J. WELCH)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

World Christianity in the Teaching of Geography and History. John J. Considine, M.M. (*Catholic Educational Review*, Apr.).

The Church and Science. F. Sherwood Taylor (*Month*, Mar.).

The New Physics and the Philosophy of Catholics. E. T. Whittaker (*ibid.*).

Realism and Utopianism in World Affairs. Hans Rommen (*Rev. of Politics*, Apr.).

No Peace Without Arms. Stefan T. Possony (*ibid.*).

Perpetual Peace? Waldemar Gurian (*ibid.*).

Beginnings of the Peace Idea. Sylvester John Hemleben (*Social Stud.*, Mar.).

The Law of Nations and the Conduct of War in the Early Times of the Standing Army. Robert A. Kann (*Journal of Politics*, Feb.).

A New Cyprianic Fragment. M. Bévenot, S.J. (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Mar.).

The Life of Jesus: A Survey of the Available Material: The Foundation of the Synoptic Tradition: The Gospel of Mark. T. W. Manson (*ibid.*).

The Medieval Parsonage and Its Occupants. John R. H. Moorman (*ibid.*).

A New Solution of the Galatians Problem. Dom Bernard Orchard (*ibid.*).

San Atanasio, Martillo del Arrianismo [*concluded*]. Esteban J. Palomera, S.J., (*Christus*, May).

Augustine on the Teaching of History. William M. Green (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, XII, no. 18, 315-332).

In Defense of St. Augustine. Anton C. Pegis (*New Scholasticism*, Apr.).

Bacon's Opinion of His Predecessors. Edward Sutfin (*ibid.*).

Saint Augustine's "City of God" and Man's Inalienable Rights. R. W. Mulligan (*America*, May 20).

Theodoric vs. Boethius: Vindication and Apology. William Bark (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

The *Enquêteurs* of Louis IX. Alexander Wyse, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies*, Mar.).

St. Bernardine's Unedited *Prediche Volgari*. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M.Cap. (*ibid.*).

Staging a Tertiary [Catherine of Aragon in history and drama]. Joseph G. Walleser (*ibid.*).

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